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CENSUS OF INDIA, 1911.
VOLUME III.

ASSAM.

PART I.
REPORT.

BY

J. McSWINEY, M.A.

[illegible] INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE,

SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS IN ASSAM.

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VOL. III.

ASSAM.

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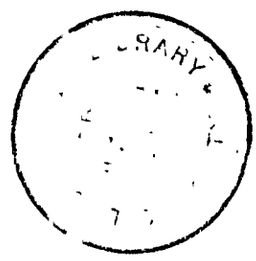

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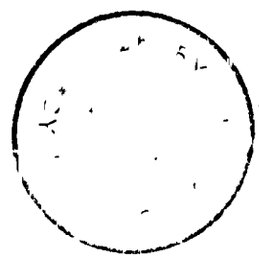

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INTRODUCTION.

ASIATIC SOCIETY

Previous censuses.

1. This is the fifth census of Assam, which in 1872, at the time of the first census of India, was included in Bengal and at the census of 1911 was part of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The different standards of accuracy of previous censuses are discussed in Chapter II: briefly that of 1872 is negligible and that of 1881 was not sufficiently supervised, but those of 1891 and 1901 are reliable. The population of Manipur in 1891 was omitted from the report of that year because of the loss of enumeration papers in the rising, but the population of Mokakchang subdivision of Naga Hills and an estimate of the population in North Lushai were added. In 1901 Manipur and the whole of the present Lushai Hills district were included. At the present census an unsurveyed tract of Sema and Eastern Angami villages, whose population amounted to 39,583, was the only addition to the area of the province.

The enumeration.

2. The enumeration was mostly synchronous, but in certain areas, where on account of the scanty population and want of literate persons this was impossible, the counting spread over a period and in certain other places a modified form of synchronous enumeration was adopted. The synchronous system was enforced in all the plains districts, including the plains mauzas of Garo Hills, in Lushai Hills, in part of Khasi and Jaintia Hills, in Duars Bagari and Eastern Rengma of the Mikir hill tract in Sibsagar and in the valley of Manipur State. The modified synchronous procedure was adopted in the rest of Khasi and Jaintia Hills, in the Mikir hill tract in Nowgong, in mauzas Western and Naga Rengma of the same tract in Sibsagar, and in North Cachar. The census was non-synchronous in the hill mauzas of Garo Hills, in Duardisa and Borjar in the Mikir hill tract of Sibsagar, and in the Sadiya tract and amongst the Sarkari Nagas of Lakhimpur.

The whole province was divided into blocks containing an average of 38 to 40 houses in the synchronous tracts and about 80 to 90 houses in the rest: in the hills of Manipur the average was as high as 141 houses per block. Each block was in the charge of an enumerator; over him was a supervisor, who was in charge of a circle consisting on an average of 11 blocks and was subject to a Charge Superintendent, who had about 14 to 20 circles to look after. The Census Officer of each district was responsible for the adequate training of these functionaries, who were unpaid except in parts of the hill districts: at the top was the Deputy Commissioner of each district. Operations began in January 1910, when the area of each district was carefully distributed by means of maps and local enquiries into charges, circles and blocks. Next all the houses were numbered and finally the preliminary enumeration began by January 1911: the entries were mostly written on blank paper in order to avoid erasures by inspecting officers on the forms, and were copied on to the schedules by the end of February. On the night of the 10th March 1911 each enumerator in the synchronous tracts visited each house in his block, added the names of new arrivals and crossed out the names of those absent or dead. In the modified synchronous tracts the preliminary record was brought up to date on the morning of the 11th March from the reports of village headmen to the enumerators, who took up positions at convenient centres. In the non-synchronous areas no attempt was made to correct the preliminary record after it had been checked by inspecting officers. Special arrangements were made for large assemblies at fairs, etc., for mooring-ghats, and travellers by road, river or train: these are detailed in the administrative report of the census, which is published separately.

Provisional totals.

3. On the morning of the 12th March 1911 the enumerators assembled at centres and prepared abstracts showing the total population by sex and the number of houses in their blocks: the supervisor of each circle then sent similar totals to the Charge Superintendents, and the latter to the district Census Officer. The Deputy Commissioner then telegraphed the district totals to the Census Commissioner. All the figures except those of Lushai Hills were complete by the 17th March: the delay in Lushai Hills was due to difficulties in getting in the totals of Military Police outposts, the whole battalion being censused together, which was a mistake and kept the district totals back till 21st March: fortunately the wooden spoon was annexed by a Burma district. The final totals of the province were only 55 in excess of the provisional figures, which is equivalent to an error of ·00007 per cent.: Lakhimpur and Cachar totals were wired on the

13th March and were less than the final figures by ·044 and ·074 per cent., respectively: allowance must always be made on these occasions for figures of travellers by steamer or road which were received after the district figures had been telegraphed.

Tabulation.

4. As soon as possible the schedules were sent to the headquarters, which were usually those of the district, so that the entries of each individual might be copied on to slips. These were similar to the slips used for the first time in 1901. The arrangements were generally in the hands of the Deputy Commissioners, but there was a Central Office under a Deputy Superintendent at Gauhati, where the schedules of Kamrup, Garo Hills and the subdivisions of Mangaldai and North Lakhimpur were copied by a staff which was the nucleus of the future sorting establishment. The schedules of Cachar and the subdivisions of Karimganj, South Sylhet and Habiganj were copied at the Central Office at Chittagong. The work of copying began on the 16th in March and was completed in the late province of Eastern Bengal and Assam on 10th June 1911. A gang of 8 to 10 copyists was placed under a supervisor and the work was paid for at the rate of 6 pice per hundred slips copied: the average daily outturn per copyist rose from 378 in the beginning to 601 when work was in full swing at the end of April. The maximum number of copyists employed in Eastern Bengal and Assam was 1,701. Special care was taken to ensure accuracy as well as large outturns and on the whole the work was well done: the office at Gauhati was the best in the late province at this branch of the work.

After all the entries had been copied on to the slips, the latter were despatched to the Central Offices for sorting and compilation of the tables: those of the Surma Valley and Lushai Hills were sorted at Chittagong and of the rest of Assam at Gauhati. Sorting was completed by the end of August. During the process of sorting compilation began and was completed in the Gauhati office by the 11th November 1911, three weeks before either of the other offices finished. The compilation registers were sent to my office for check and comparison and a small staff was maintained in the Central Offices until 31st March 1912 for references and re-sorting, when necessary. The work done in the Gauhati office was excellent and in many ways the best: the staff was not recruited from the Land Records establishment as in 1901, and the sorters were mostly young men with all sorts of education down to the Lower Primary standard: this made the work of the Deputy Superintendent more difficult than elsewhere.

Cost.

5. The only practical method of estimating the cost of the census in Assam, it seems to me, is to calculate the cost per thousand in Eastern Bengal and Assam up to 31st March 1912 and to add to this the additional cost per thousand in Assam up to the close of my office. The figures of expenditure I have taken are those of the Accounts Department, which show the extra cost of the census to Government: for example, my pay was not debited to census, but the extra expense which Government incurred by the fact of some junior officer acting in the post which I would have held. The larger the province is, the less per mille of population is the cost of the pay of the Superintendent and his deputation allowance. This and the fact that no extra expense was incurred on my account since April 1912 must be remembered when comparing the cost of the present census with that of the last. The accounts of 1912-1913 are not yet complete, but I have allowed for a staff up to 31st December next, which is the last possible date for closing the office, for a share of the cost of the Dacca office in April and May 1912 as estimated by the Superintendent of Census Operations, Bengal, for future press charges on the estimate of the Superintendent of the Secretariat Press who is printing the report, and for a deputation allowance for myself which has not yet been sanctioned. I have included the total cost of the census of Manipur, because the State paid us only for the enumeration forms supplied and have excluded the population of Hill Tippera State which supplied or paid for everything: I have added also the amount recouped from municipalities, because it was an item of expense, though it did not fall on Government.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Eastern Bengal and Assam (1911-1912).	2,00,256	6	6
Assam (1912-1913 ...	8,400	0	0

The figures in the margin are the accruals for Eastern Bengal and Assam and the estimate for Assam. On this basis the expenditure per mille up to 31st March 1912 was Rs. 5-13-2 and thereafter Rs. 1-3-1, making a total of Rs 7-0-3 per thousand censused. The cost in 1901 was Rs. 11-11-1 in Assam and just under Rs. 5 in Bengal. It is probable that, making allowance for the rise in wages within the last ten years, the latter low figure is impossible at the present day: it was partly due also to the very large population (over 78 millions) included in Bengal at that time.

Our mishaps.

6. I doubt if the course of census operations, any more than that of true love, has ever yet run smoothly anywhere, but probably the operations, part of the results of which are materialised in the present report, constitute a record. They began in April 1910 in the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam with the appointment of Mr. J. Donald, I.C.S., as Provincial Superintendent: in November 1910 Mr. Donald was compelled to take leave, when he had brought the arrangements for the actual enumeration practically to a conclusion and I was appointed to act temporarily in his place. Unfortunately he was unable to return to duty in time and I continued the work in Eastern Bengal and Assam until 31st March 1912. From 1st April my duty was confined to Assam alone, while the work in connection with Eastern Bengal was undertaken by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations in Bengal, who retained charge also of the new province of Bihar and Orissa. Those who have any idea of the labour of compiling statistics will perhaps appreciate the labour incurred in, firstly, preparing complete tables in manuscript for every census back to 1872 for the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam and, secondly, after nearly half the tables of that province for 1911 were actually set up in type at Dacca, of removing the figures for Assam, substituting those of the two Bengal divisions which were added to Eastern Bengal to form the new Presidency, and striking new totals in every case. The present Bengal tables were printed at Dacca under the supervision of Rai Bahadur Jamini Mohan Das, my senior Deputy Superintendent. The actual work of compiling separate tables for the present census of Assam began in February 1912 and was practically completed in manuscript at Dacca by the end of April, when a separate staff was transferred to Shillong to work directly under me. I was appointed Director of Land Records and Agriculture in Assam from 1st April 1912, and, as I was able to complete only two chapters of the present report before that date, the rest of it has been written during such time as I was able to spare from my other duties, of the routine portion of which I was relieved for six weeks by the kindness of Mr. A. W. Botham, I.C.S.

The printing misfortunes that dogged our footsteps at the beginning are described in the Administrative Report and need not be detailed here. It will suffice to say that the paper for schedule forms arrived at Dacca about three months behind its time, the printing contractor's arrangements broke down in the most hopeless fashion and I was compelled to arrange as late as January 1911 for the printing and cutting of the slips by the Dacca Jail Press. These accidents appear trifling now, but they were the cause of very serious difficulty and anxiety, because the time to make new arrangements was very short and the work large in quantity and difficult of execution: I hope that my successor will fare more easily.

Acknowledgments.

7. Without the cordial assistance of the Deputy Commissioners a census would be impossible: to each and all of them and to the Census Officers of each district I am indebted for their continued exertions from the beginning to the end: in most districts their responsibilities continued up to the completion of slip-copying. In addition to the actual enumeration there were many ethnographical and other enquiries imposed upon them; their reports have made possible the inclusion of almost everything of a non-statistical nature in this volume: the reader will be able to appreciate how much is due especially to Lieutenant-Colonel J. Shakespear, C.I.E., D.S.O., Political Agent in Manipur, to the Reverend Mr. Pettigrew of the same State, and to Lieutenant-Colonel H. Cole, I. A., late Superintendent, Lushai Hills. In addition I received a great deal of interesting information from Indian correspondents which has added considerably to what I have been able to write on the subjects connected with the caste system: amongst them Babu Aghornath Adhikari of Silchar and Mr. G. G. Phukan of Sibsagar deserve special mention. Lastly I come to the Deputy Superintendents, Rai Bahadur Jamini Mohan Das, Babu Atul Chandra Dutt, both at Dacca, Babu Abhaya Shankar Guha at Chittagong and Srijut Radhanath Phukan at Gauhati: to these officers are mainly due the accuracy and expedition of the work of tabulation, which enabled us, in spite of our bad start, to receive the congratulations of the Census Commissioner on getting in our first table at the beginning of September 1911 before all the other large provinces except the Punjab. To Rai Bahadur Jamini Mohan Das, now Additional District Magistrate of Dacca, I owe more than I can explain: he was my guide, philosopher and friend at the beginning and loyal assistant to the end without him I doubt if the first and last census of Eastern Bengal and Assam would not have been a failure.

In conclusion, I have to thank Mr. A. B. Smart of the Shillong Drawing Office for preparing the sketches from which all the blocks appearing in the letterpress were reproduced by Messrs. Thacker Spink of Calcutta; Mr. E. Hill, late Superintendent of the Dacca Government Press and now at Ranchi, for his care in selecting the type and the arrangement of the tables printed for Assam and for Bengal; and to Mr. H. H. King, Superintendent of the Assam Secretariat Press, who has been responsible for the printing of this report and who was handicapped by having to wait for the restoration of the Shillong Press by the return of type and men from Dacca.

Shillong,
September 28th, 1912.

J. McSWINEY,
Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam.

REPORT

ON

THE CENSUS OF ASSAM, 1911.

CHAPTER I.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION.

(*i*) THE PROVINCE OF ASSAM.

Area, population and boundaries.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the whole of Northern India, *i.e.*, the area excluding the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, formed the Presidency of Bengal, which was administered by a Governor-in-Council, the Governor being also Governor General of India. The formation of subordinate entities of administration in this huge area began in 1836, when the territory now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh was given a separate existence under a Lieutenant-Governor, and in 1854 the Governor General was relieved of the direct administration of Bengal by the appointment of a permanent Lieutenant-Governor. Twenty years later, in 1874, the latter's burden was found to be too heavy and the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley and the adjacent hills together with Cachar and Sylhet (in 1875) were constituted as the separate Province of Assam under a Chief Commissioner. In spite of this relief, grave difficulties were soon again experienced in the administration of the huge territory under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, but it was not until 1903 that the question was taken up in real earnest. The result of the deliberations which then took place was the decision to add to the small Province of Assam the eastern portion of its unwieldy neighbour and to consolidate these territories under a Lieutenant-Governor. The Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam as then constituted was again broken up on the 1st April, 1912 : the Eastern Bengal districts were united with the Bengal Commissionerships of Burdwan and the Presidency to form the Presidency of Bengal under a Governor-in-Council: Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa were formed into a separate province, while the old Province of Assam was re-constituted under a Chief Commissioner. Though at the time of the census Assam thus formed a part of another province, it was decided that it should have a separate report for the purpose of future administrative requirements.

In view of the material available in the Imperial Gazetteer and elsewhere it is hardly necessary to enter extensively into historical or descriptive detail, but a brief account of the province and its administrative divisions will not be out of place as an introduction to the statistical chapters which follow.

The area administered by the Chief Commissioner of Assam covers a surveyed area of 61,471 square miles, which is 5,228 square miles in excess of that reported in 1901 : the increase is almost entirely due to the correction of an error in the area of Manipur State; in British territory new surveys show an increase of only 56 square miles. In addition to the above area there is the unsurveyed country of the Eastern Angamis and Semas which was added to the Naga Hills since 1901 : the present census shows that this tract contains nearly 40,000 people in 121 villages. The total population of the province is 7,059,857, of whom all but 346,222 persons in Manipur State were censused in British districts.

Assam owes its importance to its situation on the north-east frontier of India. It is surrounded by mountainous ranges on three sides : on the north are the Himalayas shutting off the table-lands of Bhutan and Tibet, on the north-east is a series of hills which form a barrier between the upper Brahmaputra valley and the more or less independent Mongolian tribes who live west of the boundary of China; on the east and south lie the hills which march with those forming the limits of the Province of Burma and the State of Hill Tippera : on the west lies the Province of Bengal on to

the huge plains of which debouch the two valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Surma which form the plains of Assam. These two valleys are separated from each other by the Assam range, which projects westward from the hills on the eastern border. The physical features of the province are full of variety. The valley of the Brahmaputra on the north is an alluvial plain about 450 miles in length and 50 miles in average breadth, so that one never loses sight of the hills on either side: of the two districts of the Surma valley Cachar forms the eastern angle and contains one subdivision in the hills, while Sylhet is so wide and flat that except in the extreme north and south the appearance of the country recalls the plains of Bengal. Mongolian influences are present everywhere, except in the greater part of Sylhet. Throughout the plains communication was, and is still to a great extent, mainly by water in the rains, when the flooded Brahmaputra and Surma rise and cover the low lands. Hindus are twice as numerous as Muhammadans, who are mostly found in the Surma valley, and more than three times as numerous as Animists, of whom nearly a million and a quarter were censused, mainly in the hills and the Brahmaputra valley. In language there is perhaps more diversity on the eastern frontier than exists in any other part of India, and the Khasis possess a tongue the nearest affinities of which are as far distant as Cambodia and Anam. The discovery that the tea plant was indigenous in both valleys has led to the exploitation of their waste areas by European capital, and it has been truly said that Dibrugarh at the upper end of the Brahmaputra valley is more like a colony than India in its large European population and the extent of their industrial enterprise.

Rivers.

2. In the north the dominance of the Brahmaputra dwarfs everything else for the traveller in the rains, to whose mind the country seems to consist of the huge river bounded mostly by jungle near at hand and in the far distance by the hills. It is fed by many tributaries, of which those on the north are the larger, swifter and more numerous owing to the greater height of their watershed. In the southern valley the Surma is the name given to the northern branch of the main river, which in Cachar is known as the Barak: the southern branch runs through the centre of Sylhet where it is known as the Kusiara: it is fed by numerous tributaries on both sides, which are most useful for navigation. In the rains the west of the valley is practically one sheet of water and its appearance approximates to that of eastern Bengal.

Agriculture and rainfall.

3. The soil of the plains is alluvial, that of the Brahmaputra valley being generally of a sandy character, while that of the Surma valley is mostly clay. The rainfall is abundant and it is rarely that there is any danger of drought: in the Surma valley the annual average varies from about 150 to 120 inches and culminates in a mean of 460 inches at Cherrapunji in the northern hills: the two ends of the Brahmaputra valley receive about 100 inches per year, while in the centre the rainfall drops to an average of 72 and at Lanka in a recess on the Kopili it is as low as 43 inches. The mean temperature ranges from 84° in July to 60° in January in the plains, while the thermometer seldom rises above 80° in the hills.

The soil in the Brahmaputra valley being of a more or less sandy character is not so fertile as that of the Surma valley: the rivers of the former have swifter currents owing to the elevation of the country and deposit coarse sand within the valley, retaining the clay until the current is slowed down in the plains of Bengal: the level of the Surma valley is so low that the course of the rivers is more sluggish and hence ensures a deposit of more fertilising silt. On the other hand, there are vast areas of waste in the Brahmaputra valley and it cannot be said that the country is anything but very fertile, especially as rainfall is more important than soil for rice which is the main crop. Taking the province as a whole 71 per cent. of the cropped area is under rice, almost 6 per cent. is under tea, and 5½ per cent. under oil-seeds; the remaining crops are not of much importance.

Industries.

4. The province contains no large towns and is essentially agricultural in character. Tea, coal, oil and limestone-quarrying constitute the main industries. The area included in tea estates amounted in 1910 to 1,820 square miles, of which 547 square miles were actually planted and the year's crop yielded over 175,000,000 pounds of manufactured tea. The coal mines, which are situated in the north-east of the Brahmaputra valley, gave a total output of over 300,000 tons of coal in 1909-10: the oil wells in the same tract produced nearly 3,300,000 gallons of mineral oil: of limestone practically 96,000 tons were quarried, mostly in the Khasi Hills. Silk-worms are reared in the Brahmaputra valley and a small proportion of the silk is exported as cloth.

Administrative divisions.

5. The province is divided into two Commissionerships, that of the Assam Valley, which includes the Garo Hills, and that of Surma Valley and Hill Districts which includes rest of the hills exclusive of the State of Manipur. The population of the former is nearly three and a half millions and that of the latter over three and a quarter millions. The units of administration are the districts, of which there are 12; excluding Sylhet which has a population of nearly two and a half millions, the average plains district contains somewhat more than half a million persons, while the average population of a hill district is slightly over a quarter of a million: the average area of each district is about 4,500 square miles.

Census divisions.

6. The province readily falls into three homogeneous divisions—the Brahmaputra Valley, the Surma Valley and the Hills. In the Imperial Tables the districts are shown in their respective Commissionerships, but in the Subsidiary Tables in the body of this report they are arranged according to the natural divisions mentioned above. In the third natural division, that of the Hills, are included the North Cachar subdivision of Cachar and the State of Manipur: the inclusion of the latter is the only difference between the scheme adopted in 1901 and that adopted now.

The Brahmaputra Valley.

7. The Brahmaputra or the Assam Valley lies between the Himalayas on the north and the Assam Range on the east and south, and on the west opens on to northern Bengal. Mongolian influences are predominant: a succession of invading hordes from the north-east made the plain of the Brahmaputra their own and were able to defeat the attempts of the Muhammadan invaders from Bengal to gain a footing in the valley. Two-thirds of the people are now Hindus, but large numbers of them are comparatively new converts from non-Hindu tribes who are rapidly being absorved by the all-embracing proselytism of the Vaishnava Gossains in the east of the valley; but still over one-sixth of the population cling to primitive nature worship; Muhammadans number a little more than one-tenth of the people. On the north and south below the hills the country is generally covered with jungle: by the ever-shifting banks of the mighty river, which in the rains extends to five or six miles in breadth, precarious crops are snatched before the floods sweep down. It is in the central tract between the jungle and the river that population is mainly found: generally the tea gardens are near the hills and below them lie the villages. The tea gardens depend for their labour almost entirely on importation from Chota-Nagpur, the Central Provinces and Madras and their time-expired coolies form the most important factor in the colonisation of the valley. The devastation caused by the Burmese in the early years of the nineteenth century threw back into jungle large tracts of cultivation. The people now styled Assamese, in addition to an unenterprising character which is due to their enervating climate and the security of their crops, received a serious reverse from the severe epidemic known as kala-azar, which has now practically disappeared. The valley cries out for people to fill up its waste areas, and though the progress of colonisation is hopeful, it will take many years to remove the void. Of the cropped area 67 per cent. is under rice, 8 per cent. under tea and 2 per cent. under jute, while oil-seeds cover 8 per cent. It is in the upper districts that tea is mainly grown, and in them the percentage under that crop varies from 14 per cent. in Darrang to over 25 per cent. in Lakhimpur. The cultivation of jute is practically confined to Goalpara at the mouth of the valley, where it covers over 6 per cent. of the area cropped. Communication is partly by land, but mainly by the Brahmaputra, in spite of the extension of the Assam-Bengal Railway along the south of the valley: the numerous rivers which flow from the hills on both sides to the Brahmaputra are on the whole not very useful for navigation owing to the swiftness of their currents.

The Surma Valley.

8. The Surma Valley, bounded on the north by the Assam Range and on the south by the northern spurs of the Lushai Hills and Hill Tippera, is shut in on the east by the hills of Manipur: on the west is its mouth, where the wide and water-covered plain of Sylhet marches with the Bengal district of Mymensingh. The plains portion of Cachar and the whole of Sylhet make up the valley. The west of Sylhet is very similar to eastern Bengal, but the district is distinguished as a whole by its large production of tea and the comparative unimportance of the jute crop: tea is grown in the numerous valleys in the south of the district and covers nearly 3 per cent. of the area under cultivation. Cachar is a comparatively new district; the plains portion has been opened up by tea planters and by immigrants from the more populous parts of Sylhet. Taking the valley as a whole, over 80 per cent. of the cropped area is under rice, 1·3 per cent.

under jute, and 4·36 per cent. under tea. In Cachar tea takes up nearly 17 per cent. of the cultivation. More than half the people are Muhammadans, mostly of the same sturdy semi-amphibious kind that are found in eastern Bengal. In the south of Sylhet and in Cachar there are large settlements of Manipuris, which were originally started by refugees from that State during its war with Burma. The tea gardens employ large numbers of coolies imported from the United Provinces, Bengal and the Central Provinces. The Assam-Bengal Railway skirts the foot of the hills on the south and east, but in the rains the vast water ways of the two districts are the main means of communication.

The Hills.

9. The rest of the province consists of ranges of hills. Starting on the west of the Assam Range we have in succession the Garo Hills and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills which are joined by North Cachar to the Naga Hills on the north-east and to Manipur on the south-east: south-west of Manipur are the Lushai Hills. The general outline of this mass of elevated country is that of the letter "T" with a top line running from north-east to south-west and a support running from west to east. The general type of the people is Mongolian, but there are so many different tribes and languages that it would be hard to point to any other bond of connection. Generally the country is covered with tree jungle, especially on the lower slopes: the average elevation is 4,000 feet, but some peaks rise to 7,000, and Japvo in the Naga Hills is nearly 10,000 feet in height. Over two-thirds of the population are Animists and about one-fourth are Hindus so-called, four-fifths of whom were censused in the State of Manipur: over four per cent. are Christians, who constitute more than one-eighth of the people of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. Accuracy in crop statistics cannot be expected, but so far as they go, they show that over 67 per cent. of the cultivation is under rice: a good deal of rough cotton exported from the Garo Hills, and potatoes are grown extensively in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. Except in the latter district and in a part of the Naga Hills land is cultivated usually in the most primitive fashion, a clearing being made in the jungle by fire and a number of different crops being sown together in holes dug beneath the ashes and harvested as they mature.

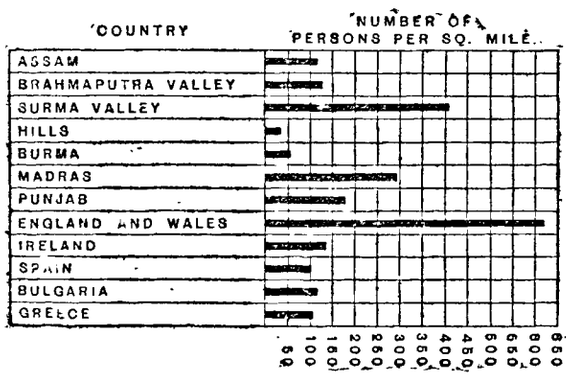
(*ii*) AREA, POPULATION AND DENSITY.

Statistical Tables.

10. Imperial Table I shows the area of each district and its population, urban and rural, by sex, together with the number of towns, villages and occupied houses. Similar statistics for subordinate divisions of each district will be found in Provincial Table I, which is printed at the end of the Imperial tables and which also shows the variations of population in these smaller areas since 1891, wherever figures are available. Attached to this chapter are six subsidiary tables showing (1) density, water-supply and crops, (2) distribution of the population classified according to density, (3) distribution of the population between towns and villages, (4) the number per mille of the total population and of each main religion who live in towns, (5) towns classified by population, and (6) the number of persons per house and of houses per square mile. The area and population of the three natural divisions are shown in the margin.

	Area.	Population.
Assam ...	61,471	7,059,857
Brahmaputra Valley	24,598	3,108,669
Surma Valley...	7,247	2,542,858
Hills ...	29,626	1,008,330

11. Owing to the great areas of waste and rivers the density of the province is only 115. The greatest pressure of population is in the Surma Valley which supports 406 persons to the square mile, while the Brahmaputra Valley supports 126 and the Hills only 34. Compared with the density of most other parts of India that of Assam is a low, but it is more than double that of Burma. The diagram on the margin shows how Assam stands in relation to other provinces and countries. This is not the place to consider the extent of variations in the population, but it may be stated that there are now 6, or if allowance be made for subsequent corrections in area, 15 persons

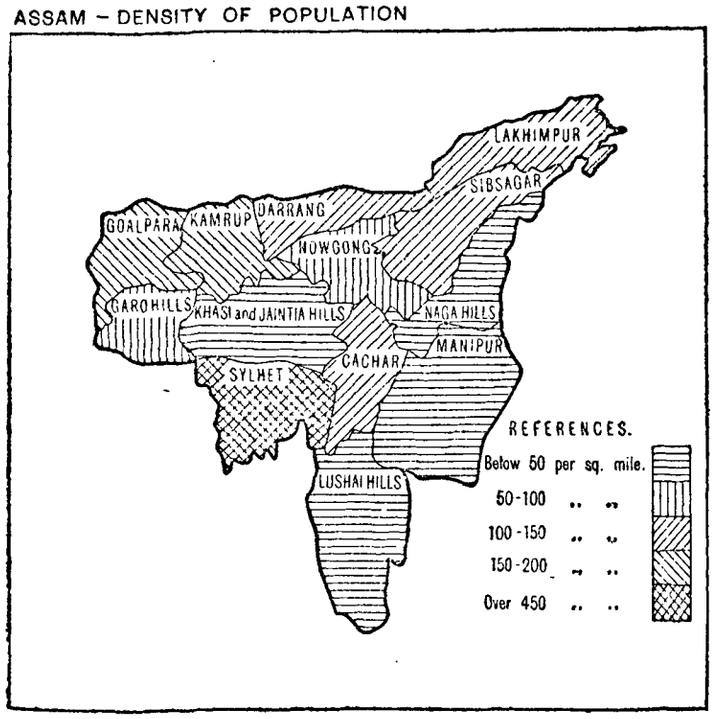


more to the square mile in the province than there were in 1901, the number having increased in the Surma Valley by 53 and in the Brahmaputra Valley by 18. These are encouraging figures and show that progress is being made.

Density of population in Assam.

Subsidiary Table II shows some remarkable contrasts. One-third of the total population is scattered over an area which is equivalent to three-fourths of the area of the province and contains less than 150 persons to the square mile, one-quarter of the people live in a twelfth part of the provincial area, where the density is between 300 and 450, while only 1·3 per cent. of the total area has a density of between 600 and 750 and contains 7·4 per cent. of the total population.

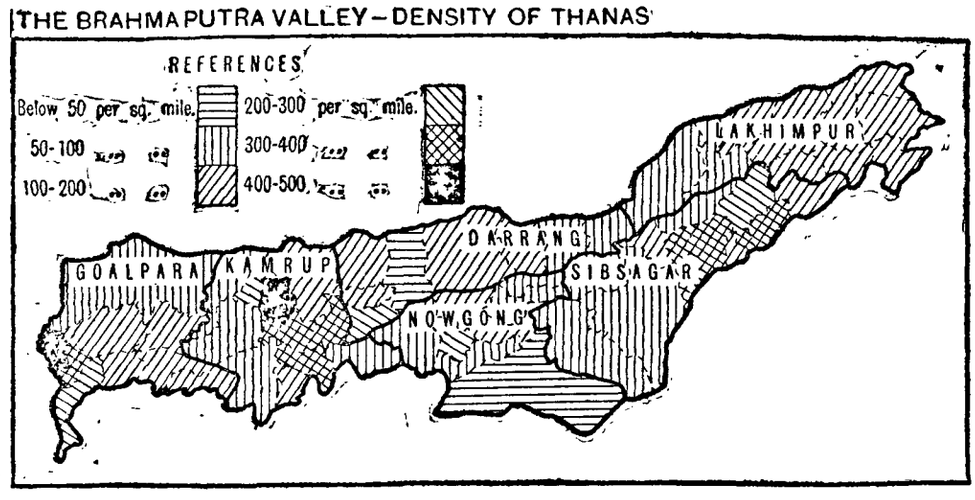
ASSAM – DENSITY OF POPULATION



Brahmaputra Valley.

12. In the Brahmaputra Valley the highest district density is in Kamrup where there are 173 persons to the square mile, next follows Goalpara with 152, then Sibsagar with 138, Darrang with 110, Lakhimpur with 104 and Nowgong a bad last with only 79. The most interesting point about these district statistics is that Goalpara has gone above Sibsagar in the order of density since 1901, but otherwise there is no change. A glance at the map of the Valley in the margin will show that density is greatest at its western end where it opens on to Bengal: Sibsagar near the other end is a centre of population and would hold a much higher place if it did not include large areas of waste in the south-west which were taken from the Naga Hills before the last census: from Sibsagar as a centre we may imagine two radii of decreasing density running northwards to Darrang and Lakhimpur, while in the centre of the valley we have the lowest density in Nowgong, which is also affected by large additions of waste originally in the Naga Hills. This distribution of population is mainly due to historical causes which were described in paragraph 14 of the last Census Report: briefly they are the results of the Moamaria rebellion and the Burmese invasion at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the surviving population was driven westwards; when the country was taken over, the development of the tea industry attracted population to the upper districts of the valley, while the last decade has witnessed the settlement of a large number of immigrants from the neighbouring districts of Bengal in the riverain area of Goalpara. Taking the districts in order from the west we find that in Goalpara population is densest in the south-west of Dhubri subdivision in the neighbourhood of the

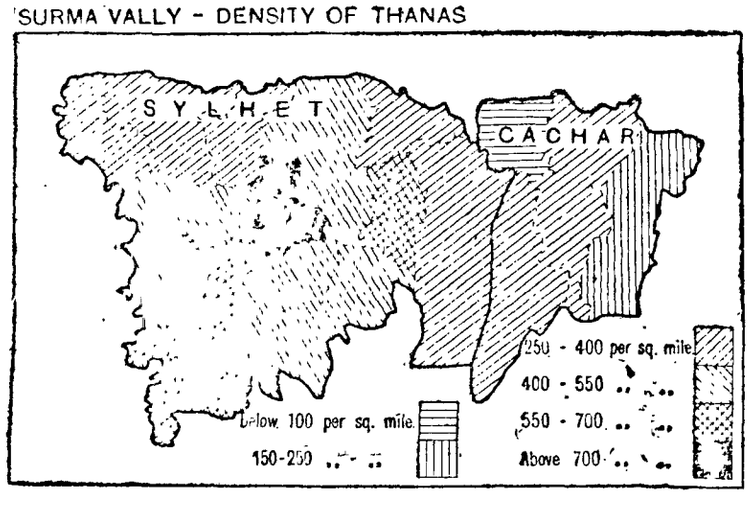
THE BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY – DENSITY OF THANAS



Brahmaputra and the Bengal border, the density of the whole subdivision being 255 against 145 in the more sparsely populated subdivision of Goalpara: the north of the district contains a very large area of reserved forest. Kamrup is divided in two by the Brahmaputra, the greater portion being on the north bank: in Gauhati subdivision there are now 227 persons to the square mile and only 114 in Barpeta, which is water-logged on the south and contains a great deal of waste in the north. Population is more concentrated on the north bank of the river in Gauhati subdivision, where Nalbari thana is first with a density of 496, two of its mauzas containing over 800 persons to the square mile: radiating from Nalbari population remains fairly dense towards the south-east and south and across the Brahmaputra to Palasbari thana, while on the north-west Bojali thana is fairly well populated. The only other thanas with a density over 100 are Rangia thana on the east of Nalbari and Chaygaon on the west of Palasbari. In the west of the district population is sparse and in the east on the south bank the surrounding hills permit of a density of only 94 in Gauhati thana. In Darrang the progressive subdivision of Tezpur is still less thickly populated than decadent Mangaldai; Mangaldai thana is first with 216 persons to the square mile, followed by Kalaigaon and Panery: the density of Tezpur thana is only 117 and that of Sootea only 101. Population is concentrated in the west of the district; in the centre and east they are large areas of waste, in the middle of which Tezpur and Sootea thanas form oases of population which even there is distinctly sparse. Nowgong is exposed to heavy floods on the north and is shut in on the south by a line of hills broken only by the Kopili valley which is mostly waste. Population follows the course of the Kallang and is densest in Raha thana, where there are 224 people to the square mile; Nowgong thana contains 155 and Samaguri, which lies between the two, only 98. Of the three subdivisions of the Sibsagar district Jorhat has a density of 247, Sibsagar of 236, while Golaghat, partly owing to the large area of waste taken from the Naga Hills, is last with only 65. As thana areas are mostly not available in Golaghat, we must confine ourselves to the other two subdivisions. The highest density, 351, is in Bortola thana south of Sibsagar: population is fairly thick all through a block extending from westwards from Sonari thana to the Golaghat boundary: it is only in the island of the Majuli, where the density is 94, that the population of Jorhat is sparse: in Jorhat thana there are 349 persons to the square mile. It is regrettable that the areas of thanas in Lakhimpur are not available: in the Sadr subdivision, where there are 143 persons to the square mile, the greatest density is in the neighbourhood of Dibrugarh town, that of a few of the mauzas being over 600: the average density of North Lakhimpur is only 85.

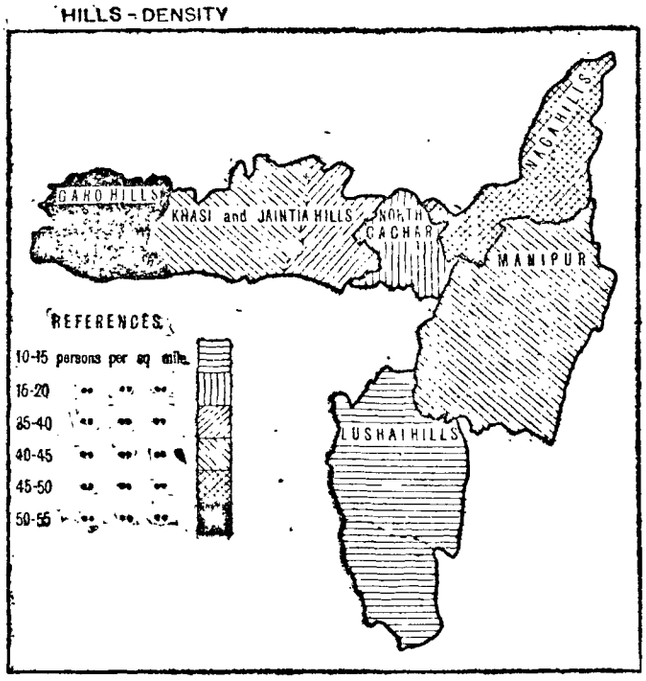
Surma Valley.

13. In the Surma Valley the Cachar plains have a density of 253, that of Hailakandi subdivision being 317, and that of Silchar 205, but this includes quite a large area of outlying spurs of North Cachar, Katigora thana on the north of the Barak supporting only 78 persons to the square mile. In Sylhet the highest average density is in Habiganj on the Bengal border, where it is 604: next comes North Sylhet with 506, followed by South Sylhet with 475, Karimganj with 434, and Sunamganj on the north-west with 335. Balaganj thana in the centre of the district contains 706 persons to the square mile; the four thanas of Habiganj subdivision are thickly populated, the density varying from 696 in Madhabpur to 514 in Baniyachang: the only other thana with over 500 is Jaldhub in Karimganj: two thanas of Sunamganj, Dharmapasa and Sunamganj, fall below 300. The extensive flooding of Sunamganj is a barrier to progress in population.



14. In the Hills the Garo Hills is first with a density of 51, but this includes the population of two mauzas in the plains. The Naga Hills is apparently next with 49, but this is based on the old area which is not now correct. Manipur has an average of 41, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills 39, North Cachar 16 and the Lushai Hills only 13. It is possible to show subdivisions only in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Lushai Hills; in the former Shillong contains 40 and Jowai 37 persons to the square mile: in the latter the corresponding figures are 14 for Aijal and 10 for Lungleh.

Hills.



15. It will appear from the above that one of the main causes affecting density in the province is its past history. If we confine ourselves to a consideration of the plains for the present, we find that though the Brahmaputra Valley was taken over in 1826, it was not until 1838 that the upper districts were actually placed under direct British administration, and that the Cachar plains in the Surma Valley was formally annexed only in 1832, the hills of the district remaining under a feudatory until 1850. Previously to the annexation of these districts, the people had gone through a series of civil wars and invasions from without, so that the country was exceedingly thinly inhabited when British administration began to give peace and security to its inhabitants. Apart from the natural tendency for population to grow under the new conditions, the discovery of the fact that tea was indigenous to the Brahmaputra Valley as early as 1821 led to the opening of the first tea garden in Lakhimpur in 1835; it took twenty years to discover the wild plant in Cachar, where its cultivation began in 1856, and led in the next year to its extension to Sylhet, where the valleys between the northern spurs of the Lushai Hills and Hill Tippera are very similar to those of Cachar. The growth of the industry was slow in the beginning; the indigenous population were and are averse from working for hire as long as they have abundance of waste land to cultivate and labour had to be imported from outside the province; the competition of China, which had hitherto the monopoly of the trade, had to be met and to be overcome by improved methods of manufacture, and the demand for tea in the world's markets had to be fostered to ensure the large extension of the industry which is a fact of to-day. The province lay on the north-east frontier cut off from all communication with the outside world except by river; it once took six weeks to travel by boat from Kushtia on the Ganges to Dibrugarh, and it was not until the early seventies that a daily steamer travelled up the Brahmaputra; the Assam-Bengal Railway was not declared open as far as Silchar in the Surma Valley until 1899 and as far as Dibrugarh in the Brahmaputra Valley until 1903. The tea industry itself, while being a blessing in that it not alone annually imports large numbers of coolies who usually settle in the province, but also helps the indigenous inhabitants by the demand of its labourers for food, brings with it two drawbacks which retard the growth of population. In the first place the penal clauses of the coolie laws and the evils which attend recruitment have given Assam a bad reputation outside and people are averse from coming to the province unless they are reduced to almost desperate need: the opening of new railways and the abolition in the near future of the penal exactments will remove this undeserved prejudice. Secondly, the land revenue system does not admit of a revenue-free period for settlers on new land: this is due to the obvious danger of emptying tea gardens of their labour force and bringing the industry to ruin: so that the new colonist starts with the imposition of rent from the day he takes possession of his land. In addition to all this the unhealthiness of the province before it began to be opened out must not be

Factors influencing density.

forgotten; waste territory is not put under the plough without a considerable loss of life amongst the first settlers who, apart from the general unhealthiness of tracts under jungle, have to meet with new conditions of climate and strange food.

16. The above remarks will explain why the province is still sparely populated in the plains, though its progress is most hopeful. To turn now to particular localities we see that in the Brahmaputra Valley Nowgong is still the lowest in density: this is in part due to the inclusion of large areas of waste in the Kopili Valley, which was practically an unknown land until the Assam-Bengal Railway was built through it, and partly to the decimation of the people by the scourge of kala-azar which took off nearly a quarter of its inhabitants between 1891 and 1901. The course of this epidemic through the western districts of the Brahmaputra Valley has been described in paragraph 41 of the last Census Report and need not be repeated. It will be sufficient here to say that kala-azar and the earthquake of 1897 were responsible at the last census for large decreases in all the districts of the valley except Lakhimpur and Sibsagar. We have to take it as a fact that as the result of the Burmese invasion the people who survived were found settled in two large and widely separated tracts, *i.e.*, (1) in north Kamrup south of the submontane Kachari country and in the south-west of Darrang, and (2) in Jorhat and the west of Sibsagar subdivision. Probably the fact that there was an Ahom Governor at Gauhati and that Sibsagar and Jorhat saw the last courts of the Ahom Kings is a partial explanation of this fact. At any rate it was in these tracts that the people were more free from harassment by marauders from the hills than elsewhere. The population of Goalpara could never have been large and the district is only now being slowly opened by settlers from Mymensingh and the neighbouring districts. Darrang, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur owe their present population to a great extent to the tea industry. In the Surma Valley the history of Cachar naturally points to the fact that it was thinly populated at the time of annexation: it has since been developed by the opening of tea gardens and the overflow from its neighbour, Sylhet. In the latter district the west and north are exposed to heavy floods: the subdivisions of Karimganj and South Sylhet were too near the hills and Cachar to be inviting places of residence in the old days on account of fear of depredations: hence we find the greatest density in the centre and south-west of the district, where people could live in comparative peace and find good land. In the hills it is only natural to expect a small population: most of the people have still very rudimentary ideas of agriculture and are not very long removed from the time when head-hunting was considered the proper occupation of a man.

In the above short review I have not considered many factors affecting variations in density, such as fertility of the soil, irrigation and rainfall. In Assam rainfall is abundant everywhere and generally not destructive in its excess; irrigation is mostly unnecessary and is confined to submontane areas, where the slope of the ground is too steep to retain sufficient water for the rice crop without the aid of small channels. In the plains it may be said that the soil is fertile everywhere and rice is the main crop. When the province bears the population that it ought to have and presumably will have some day, the effect of these factors will deserve detailed consideration.

(*iii*) TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

Definition and number of towns.

17. The towns of the province consist of urban areas with some sort of municipal government—such as municipalities, unions or stations—cantonments, and certain selected areas of an urban character which are not administered under any municipal law. Under this definition there are in all 21 towns in the province, of which all but five have a local administration and all but one are in British territory. Excluding the conglomerate of villages at Imphal, which is the capital of Manipur State, there is not a single town which contains 20,000 inhabitants and there are only five with a population of over 10,000. Imperial Tables IV and V show the variations in population and the religions of these towns, while Imperial Table III shows them classified by population. Subsidiary Tables III, IV, V of this chapter described above in paragraph 10 are also concerned with towns.

Distribution of population between towns and villages.

18. The province is essentially of a non-urban character; taking it as a whole only 30 persons out of 1,000 live in towns, the number being 24 in the Brahmaputra Valley, and 15 in the Surma Valley; in the Hills, if we include Imphal, there are no less than 90 per mille living in towns, but Imphal is not really an urban area, and its exclusion

brings down the proportion to 25 of whom 21 were censused in Shillong, the headquarters of the province. The average population of the towns is 10,063 and that of villages is 233. The highest urban average is found in the Hills where the figures are unduly swollen by the inclusion of Imphal. In the Brahmaputra Valley the population of the normal town is under 7,000 and in the Surma Valley it is 6,350.

Religions and sexes in towns.

19. Taking the province as a whole out of every 1,000 adherents of each of the main religions, there are 41 Hindus, 21 Muhammadans, 52 Christians and 265 Jains living in towns: the last named are all foreign traders. The largest proportion of Hindu inhabitants of towns is found in the Hills, where the great mass of the population are Animists. Curiously enough the towns of the Brahmaputra Valley contain a larger number per mille of Muhammadans than the Surma Valley. This is due in great measure to the fact that most of the shops are owned by Muhammadans from eastern Bengal and that in Upper Assam the later Ahom Kings attracted to their courts considerable numbers of Muhammadan artisans.

For every 1,000 males there are 763 females in the towns of the whole province but in British territory, where the more strictly urban population is found, this number is reduced to 636. Generally speaking, the fact that a town is a centre of trade or the headquarters of some administrative division connotes a temporary population of males who leave their wives at home. In Barpeta there is an actual excess of females, as was the case in 1901: this circumstance points to the fact that this town is little more than a large collection of houses without any great trade or industry. In Subsidiary Table V is given the number of females per 1,000 males in towns classified according to size; the large proportion, 1,051, in towns with a population of 50,000 to 100,000, refers to Imphal, which is the only town of that size in the province.

Towns classified by size.

20. Subsidiary Table V shows towns divided into six classes according to their population in 1911 and gives the variations in the population at each census period of towns as classed at the previous census. Excluding Class II, which contains Imphal only, we find that since 1901 towns with a population of 10,000—20,000 have increased by 12·83 per cent., towns with 5,000—10,000 inhabitants by 13·27 per cent. and towns with less than 5,000 by 24·81 per cent. Areas that were classed as towns in 1872 have now increased in population by 1·14 per cent., bu there has been an increase in actual urban population of 528·62 per cent. since that time. None of the towns that now contain less than 5,000 inhabitants were treated as towns in 1872. Of the total urban population out of every 100 persons 31 are inhabitants of towns with population of 10 to 20 thousand, and 26 of towns with population 20 to 50 thousand: similar statistics of the urban population by districts and natural divisions will be found in Subsidiary Table III.

Recent growth of towns.

21. In considering the recent growth of towns it will be most convenient to divide them according to natural divisions. In the Brahmaputra Valley there are over 10,000 inhabitants in Dibrugarh, Gauhati and Barpeta only. Dibrugarh, which is the headquarters of the most important tea district in the province, has more than doubled its population since 1881 and has increased by nearly 30 per cent. since the last census. Gauhati, which showed decreases in 1891 and 1901 owing to the exclusion from the municipality of North Gauhati, which is on the other side of the river, is now larger than the combined town of 1881. Barpeta, the head centre of the Mahapurushias, has increased by nearly 23 per cent. and is now larger than it has been since 1881; the effects of the earthquake of 1897 have apparently disappeared. Of the small towns, Dhubri shows an increase of over 55 per cent. and now contains more than double the number of people it had in 1881. The most remarkable increase is in Jorhat, which is 80 per cent. larger than in 1901: this increase is mainly due to its enlargement, preparatory to the transfer thither of the headquarters of the Sibsagar district. Goalpara and Golaghat alone show small decreases. Only one of the seven towns of the Surma Valley, *i.e.*, Sylhet, is of any size. In spite of its still being cut off from the main lines of communication, it now contains a population greater than at any time since 1881, and its previous decline seems to have been arrested; with the probable extension of the railway there is a likelihood of further increase in the future. Silchar shows an apparent decrease in comparison with 1901, but this is due to the abolition of the cantonment, which contained nearly 800 people in that year. Hailakandi is a small town now so treated for the first time. Of the other towns Maulvi Bazar alone shows a decrease, which has been steady since 1891. Shillong, the capital of the province, has had its area extended and the presence at the time of the census of the headquarters offices of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam

further aided the increase of over 41 per cent. since the last census. Kohima shows a small decrease on account of the reduction of the military strength in the cantonment. Imphal, the capital of Manipur, has increased by three per cent.; as was pointed out in 1901, Imphal is really a collection of villages centred round the palace of the Raja and possesses neither municipal administration nor any of the amenities of town-life other than what is gained by concentration of population in it.

Definition and number of villages.

22. In the greater part of the province a village was defined as—

"A Gáon or Grám together with its adjacent Tolás, Parás, Pátis, Dehis, Sahis and Mahállas, provided that none of its dependent collections of houses were so large or so distant from the central village as to form in themselves true villages with a distinct individual name."

In the five upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley and in the district of Cachar, where there has been a cadastral survey, the cadastral village was taken as the census village. In Goalpara and in Sylhet there is no connection between residential villages and revenue units, save that special care was taken to keep intact the boundaries of the latter. In the hill districts a village was generally a collection of houses bearing a separate name.

According to our present figures there are 27,875 villages in the province against a total of 22,326 in 1901. The increase in the number of villages is notable in Goalpara, Nowgong, Lakhimpur, Sylhet, Naga Hills, Lushai Hills, Garo Hills and Manipur. In the plains districts the increase is due to the growth of population and in Sylhet also to more accurate methods of work at this census. In the Naga Hills, in addition to natural growth, an area formerly under political control has been added to the district. In the Lushai Hills the increase is attributed to the absence of inter-tribal warfare and hence of the necessity for bigger villages with a view to self-protection. In Manipur the very large increase in the number of villages is due to the fact that the village as demarcated in the recent revenue survey of the valley of Manipur was taken as the census village.

Character of village sites and size of villages.

23. As has been explained in previous Census Reports, the village in the plains of the province is of an indeterminate character. Generally speaking, in the populous tracts one sees scattered through the rice fields small collections of houses too petty to be called hamlets, usually surrounded by groves of bamboos and fruit trees. In the flooded tracts and in the the submontane area in the north of the Brahmaputra Valley the house sites usually present a bare appearance, which is also a marked feature of new settlements. In the hills villages are usually found near the top of the ridges.

Taking the figures as they stand it appears that the average village of the province contains 233 persons, that of the Brahmaputra Valley having 280, that of the Surma Valley 244 and that of the Hills 138. The smallest villages in the province are found in the Garo Hills and North Cachar, where the average population is under 100, and in the Khasi Hills, where it is just over 100. In the hills generally it is more convenient for the people to live in small scattered villages because they thus avoid the necessity of migrating due to difficulties connected with cultivation. Their primitive methods of agriculture necessitate frequent changes in the *jhum* or land cleared by fire for sowing the crops, so that when they are compelled to live in large villages in order to protect themselves against their neighbours, they have to move the whole village site as soon as the area available for crops within a radius of about five miles has been *jhumed*. Hence the smaller the villages are, the longer have the people lived without internal warfare, an inference which is borne out by our figures, which represent real villages in most of the hills. In Subsidiary Table III more than half the people are shown as living in villages with a population below 500 in every part of the province, but the statistics are not worth much in the plains districts. Subsidiary Table VI shows that the number of houses per square mile is highest in the Surma Valley, where it is 91, the figures for the Brahmaputra Valley and the Hills being 27 and 7 respectively. These statistics supply cumulative evidence of the general sparseness of population.

(*iv*) HOUSES AND FAMILIES.

Definition of house.

24. The homestead in the plains usually consists of a three separate thatched rooms built round a courtyard, with an outhouse for cattle and agricultural implements: the walls are generally of reeds or bamboo plastered over with mud. Brick houses are practically non-existent outside some of the towns and would hardly be safe in a region so liable to earthquakes

as Assam. To the flimsiness of the building materials is perhaps due the good fortune of the province in being practically immune from plague. In the hills each household is usually under one roof and the houses are often supported partly on piles as they project from the slope of the hill.

The definition of a house adopted for census purposes was practically that used at the last two censuses. A house was described—

> As consisting of the buildings, one or many, inhabited by one family ; that is bya number of persons living and eating together in one mess, with their resident dependents, such as mother, widowed sisters, younger brothers, etc., and their servants who reside in the house. In other words, this unit is the commensal family, known in some districts as the khana, and not the homestead or enclosure.

The main value of this definition was that it was easily understood everywhere and required very little explanation to the enumerators. There were some exceptions to the standard definition, but there were few in number and were as follows :—

(*i*) In the case of Europeans and Anglo-Indians the whole building actually occupied by them was taken as one house.

(*ii*) In Police lines, jails, dispensaries, lunatic asylums, etc., special arrangements were made.

(*iii*) In coolie lines each separate door-way was treated as marking a separate house.

The average number of persons per house in the whole province is 5, as it was at the last two censuses: Subsidiary Table VI gives the details for districts, which show that there is very little variation. The figures for 1881 are in many cases discrepant with those of the following censuses; this is due to the change of definition in 1891. As was noted in the last Census Report, there is no possibility of overcrowding and a discussion of the question is unnecessary.

The Joint family.

25. The existence of the joint family system in India tends to complicate the statistics based on the number of houses as defined for census purposes. A house does not necessarily imply the existence of one married woman and her husband and family: there are probably also sons with their wives and widows of the husband's brothers or of his sons, together with their children. In Assam it would appear from enquiries that the joint family is more prevalent amongst Hindus than amongst Muhammadans, in the Surma Valley than in that of the Brahmaputra, and among the well-to-do classes than among their less fortunate neighbours. The statement in the margin shows the number of houses per 100 married females aged 15 and over in different parts of the province. The general result would appear to be that separate houses are set up by sons on marriage all over the province and that the large excess of houses in the Surma Valley is due to the large proportion of Muhammadans in the population, as is explained below.

Province ...	116
Brahmaputra Valley	113
Surma Valley ...	120*
Hills ...	109

*Including Cachar district as a whole.

As far as my enquiries go, it would appear that the joint family amongst Hindus generally breaks up after the death of the father on the occurrence of a dispute. Wives of brothers seem to be the usual cause of quarrels, which arise in some cases from mere jealousy over presents of ornaments, but more often the wife of the brother who is the best earner wants generally more comfort for herself and her children. The spread of European ideas tends to give rise to feelings of resentment against the lazy or non-earning members of the family, and those who leave the village in search of employment are hardly more eager to separate from the drones than those who stay at home and are energetic. Amongst Muhammadans the sons on marriage usually live in separate houses and eat apart from the rest of their family, but the land usually remains joint until there is a dispute. The poorer classes separate readily on marriage because they have little to keep them together, so that the size of household, regarded as the joint family, usually depends on the material condition of the people.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Density, water-supply and crops.

District and natural division.	Mean density per square mile in 1911.	Percentage of total area.		Percentage of cultivable area of		Percentage of gross cultivated area which is irrigated.	Normal rainfall.	Percentage of gross cultivated area under					
		Cultivable.	Not cultivated.	Not cultivated.	Double cropped.			Rice.	Other food-grains (except rice).	Oil-seeds.	Jute.	Tea.	All other crops.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
ASSAM	115	76	18	24	2	1·5	116	74·4	2·2	5·5	1·4	6·0	10·5
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	126	78	15	19	2	3·4	105	67·0	4·0	8·0	2·0	8·0	11·0
Goalpara	152	88	18	20	3	...	95	68·9	5·8	10·9	6·0	·1	8·3
Kamrup	173	52	22	42	6	8	81	76·9	3·4	9·1	·9	·5	9·2
Darrang	110	72	13	18	1	11	71	67·4	3·9	4·0	0·3	13·9	10·5
Nowgong	79	92	9	9	1	...	77	59·2	6·6	18·0	0·2	5·0	11·0
Sibsagar	138	75	17	23	1	·4	85	63·0	2·7	3·4	0·1	14·5	16·3
Lakhimpur	104	86	10	12	·4	...	220	56·9	2·0	2·6	0·1	26·2	12·2
SURMA VALLEY	406	73	50	69	3	...	130	80·7	0·3	3·8	1·3	4·4	9·5
Cachar Plains*	253	53	13	25	3	...	116	67·5	1·5	3·5	0·1	16·9	10·5
Sylhet	459	87	76	87	3	...	145	82 4	0·1	3·9	1·4	2·8	9·4
HILLS...	34	75	3	5	·1	·1	111	67·2	13·1	0·6	...	...	19·1
Garo Hills	51	89	3	3	·2	...	125	†	†	†	†	...	†
Khasi and Jaintia Hills* ...	39	63	4	6	·0	...	259	53·0	6·0	1·0	...	...	40·0
North Cachar*	16	†	†	†	†	†	77	†	†	†	†	...	†
Naga Hills	49	80	7	8	†	†	86	†	†	†	†	...	†
Manipur	41	†	†	†	†	†	70	†	†	†	†	...	†
Lushai Hills	13	70	2	3	†	·3	52	74·6	16·9	...	...	...	8·5

N.B.—In the calculations for the province as a whole and for natural divisions those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

* The agricultural statistics of Cachar plains includes North Cachar and those of the Khasi Hills are for British villages only.

† Figures not available.

SUBS IDIARY TABLE II.

Distribution of the population classified according to density.

District and natural division.	Thanas with a population per square mile of									
	Under 150.		150-300.		300-450.		450-600.		600-750.	
	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM	46,861·41	2,361	5,624·45	1,187	5,007·26	1,791	2,388·51	1,200	778·13	521
	77·2	*33·4*	*9·3*	*16·8*	*8·3*	*25·4*	*3·9*	*17·0*	*1·3*	*7·4*
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	16,560·65	1,300	4,593·69	910	2,178·04	771	257·95	128	...	...
	70·2	*41·8*	*19·5*	*29·3*	*9·2*	*24·8*	*1·1*	*4·1*	...	...
Goalpara	2,445	214	1,124	238	385	149	...	...	...	...
	61·8	*35·5*	*28·4*	*39·7*	*9·8*	*24·8*	...	...	...	...
Kamrup	1,596·47	136	1,155·79	208	540·45	196	257·95	128	...	...
	45·0	*20·4*	*32·5*	*31·2*	*15·2*	*29·3*	*7·3*	*19·1*	...	...
Darrang	2,885	273	533	104	...	...	...	...	...	...
	84·4	*72·5*	*15·6*	*27·5*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nowgong	3,128·74	169	762·99	135	...	...	...	...	...	...
	80·4	*55·7*	*19·6*	*44·3*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sibsagar	3,452·72	236	717·13	156	869·60	298	...	...	...	...
	68·6	*34·1*	*14·3*	*22·6*	*17·1*	*43·3*	...	...	...	...
Lakhimpur	3,052·72	272	300·87	69	389·99	128	...	...	...	...
	81·5	*58·0*	*8·1*	*14·8*	*10·4*	*27·2*	...	...	...	...
SURMA VALLEY	674·76	52	1,030·76	277	2,829·22	1,021	2,130·56	1,072	778·13	521
	9·1	*1·8*	*13·8*	*9·4*	*38·0*	*34·7*	*28·6*	*36·4*	*10·5*	*17·7*
Cachar Plains	674·76	52	266·91	66	1,120·09	352	...	...	...	...
	32·7	*11·1*	*13·0*	*14·0*	*54·3*	*74·9*	...	...	...	...
Sylhet	...	...	763·85	212	1,709·13	668	2,130·56	1,072	778·13	521
	...	...	*14·2*	*8·6*	*31·7*	*27·0*	*39·6*	*43·3*	*14·5*	*21·1*
HILLS*	29,626	1,008	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	100	*100*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

* In the Hills the density everywhere is below 50 per square mile.

NOTE.—The figures in italics show the percentage which the area and population in each class bear to the total area and population of the district.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Distribution of the population between towns and villages.

District and natural division.	Average population per		Number per mille residing in		Number per mille of urban population residing in towns with a population of				Number per mille of rural population residing in villages with a population of			
	Town.	Village.	Towns.	Villages.	20,000 and over.	10,000 to 20,000.	5,000 to 10,000.	Under 5,000.	5,000 and over.	2,000 to 5,000.	500 to 2,000.	Under 500.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ASSAM	10,063	233	30	970	353	312	261	74	2	54	383	561
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	6,923	280	24	976	...	496	441	63	2	77	412	509
Goalpara	5,886	276	20	980	...	...	1,000	...	...	107	380	513
Kamrup	11,610	330	35	965	...	1,000	...	...	...	72	505	423
Darrang	5,355	265	14	986	...	...	1,000	...	...	23	360	617
Nowgong	5,433	200	18	982	...	...	1,000	...	...	23	406	571
Sibsagar	3,954	315	23	977	...	...	695	305	8	45	470	477
Lakhimpur	14,563	267	31	969	...	1,000	...	...	...	174	291	535
SURMA VALLEY	6,350	244	15	985	...	325	485	190	2	40	390	568
Cachar Plains ...	5,123	418	22	978	...	...	857	143	...	15	611	374
Sylhet	6,840	226	14	986	...	423	373	204	2	45	348	605
HILLS	30,237	138	30	910	823	150	...	27	...	23	264	713
Garo Hills	...	82	...	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	49	951
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	13,639	103	58	942	...	1,000	...	...	...	25	140	835
North Cachar ...	...	88	...	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	95	70	835
Naga Hills	2,423	362	16	984	...	...	...	1,000	...	21	531	448
Manipur	74,650	184	216	784	1,000	...	...	...	...	34	346	620
Lushai Hills	...	243	...	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	320	680

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Number per mille of the total population and of each main religion who live in towns.

District and natural division.	Number per mille who live in town.				
	Total population.	Hindu.	Mussalman.	Christian.	Jain.
1	2	3	4	5	6
ASSAM	30	41	21	52	265
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	24	26	52	42	186
Goalpara	20	23	18	12	191
Kamrup	35	42	51	86	125
Darrang	14	16	54	36	186
Nowgong	18	20	92	130	228
Sibsagar	23	19	149	35	185
Lakhimpur	31	28	265	39	243
SURMA VALLEY	15	17	13	107	685
Cachar Plains	22	24	17	96	...
Sylhet	14	15	12	115	685
HILLS	90	306	122	53	860
Garo Hills	No Urban Population.				
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	58	576	554	69	1,000
North Cachar	No Urban Population.				
Naga Hills	16	304	855	17	1,000
Manipur	216	353	135	485	973
Lushai Hills	No Urban Population.				

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Towns classified by population.

Class of Town.	Number of towns of each class in 1911.	Proportion of total urban population.	Number of females per 1,000 males.	Increase per cent. in the population of the towns as classed at previous census.				Increase per cent. in urban population of each class from 1871 to 1911.	
				1901 to 1911.	1891 to 1901.	1881 to 1891.	1871 to 1881.	(a) In towns as classed in 1871.	(b) In the total of each class in 1911 as compared with the corresponding total of 1871.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Total	21	...	763	+10·74	+14·08	+9·43	+15·84	+39·04	+3·04
I.—100,000 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
II.—50,000 to 100,000	1	35	1,051	+3·34	...	...	—	—	...
III.—20,000 to 50,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	—	—	...
IV.—10,000 to 20,000	5	31	717	+12·83	−·95	−15·44	−3·87	−3·25	+25·22
V.—5,000 to 10,000	9	26	578	+13·27	+16·59	+11·86	...	...	+70·42
VI.—Under 5,000	6	8	535	+24·81	+16·40	+35·23	+52·17	+116·95	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Persons per house and houses per square mile.

District and natural division.	Average number of persons per house.				Average number of houses per square mile.			
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASSAM	5	5	5	6	25	23	23	19
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	5	5	5	6	27	23	24	18
Goalpara	5	5	6	5	28	22	21	22
Kamrup	5	5	5	7	34	31	35	26
Darrang	4	4	5	6	26	23	19	14
Nowgong	5	5	5	6	16	14	20	15
Sibsagar	4	4	5	6	31	27	34	22
Lakhimpur	4	4	5	6	25	22	15	8
SURMA VALLEY	4	5	5	5	91	74	65	63
Cachar plains	4	4	4	9	58	46	33	25
Sylhet	5	5	5	5	102	84	80	72
HILLS	5	5	5	7	7	8	5	3
Garo Hills...	5	5	5	5	10	9	7	6
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	5	5	5	5	8	7	6	6
North Cachar	4	4	5	4	4	6	2	2
Naga Hills	4	3	4	†	13	10	6	†
Manipur	5	5	†	†	8	18	†	†
Lushai Hills	5	5	5	†	3	2	2	†

† Figures not available.

CHAPTER II.

MOVEMENT OF POPULATION.

Before 1901.

26. The causes of the present distribution of population have been discussed in the previous chapter. As far as the plains are concerned we have seen that in the early part of the nineteenth century the west of the province contained the greatest population and that since then the effect of the *pax Brittanica* and of British enterprise has been to open up the eastern portions of both valleys: tea gardens now replace in many places the jungles which in part, at least, owed their origin to the depredations of invaders from the east and north, and the labour force which has been recruited for the tea industry has spread out and brought under the plough thousands of acres which had previously been the abode of tigers and elephants.

In estimating the results of previous censuses, it would be safest to omit the first, which was taken in 1872: it was non-synchronous, lasting from November 1871 to May 1872, and its probable inaccuracy was dealt with at length in paragraph 9 of the last Census Report. The next enumeration was somewhat better in that it was synchronous in the plains districts, but it is impossible to regard it as an exact return of the people: it was pointed out by the then Chief Commissioner that the testing of the preliminary schedules by superiors officers was most inefficiently conducted. So that it is not until we come to 1891 that the statistics can be relied upon. The increase in population between the first and the second census was 978,093, and that between the next two 348,440, but in 1891 the population of Manipur, which amounted to 221,070 in 1881, was omitted because the census papers were destroyed in the rising of that year, and there were added the population of Mokokchang subdivision in the Naga Hills and the estimated population of North Lushai, the southern part, which was still in Bengal, remaining uncensused. Between 1891 and 1901 there was an addition of 649,041 persons to the population, but this included the inhabitants of Manipur and the whole of Lushai Hills, which was then censused accurately for the first time: the exclusion of these two tracts brings the actual increase in districts which were censused in 1891 down to 325,776.

Between 1872 and 1901, then, we have to remember that the variations are affected by (1) more accurate enumeration, and (2) the inclusion of new areas. If we exclude the latter, the percentages of variation are as shown in the margin. In view of the very great inaccuracy of the first census I do not think that it would be far from the truth if half the apparent rate of increase in 1881 were attributed to this cause: this would give a real increase of 9·1 per cent. No estimate was made in 1891 of the effect of more accurate enumeration, but it was stated that the growth of population in the hill districts could not be stated accurately; their exclusion however gives exactly the same percentage of variation. It would perhaps not be excessive if we deducted 1 per cent. to allow for the want of care in 1881: we should thus get the percentages given in the margin as the approximately true rates of increase.

Period.	Variation.
1872-1881	+18·2 per cent.
1881-1891	+10·2 ,,
1891-1901	+5·9 ,,

Period.	Variation.
1872-1881	+9·1 per cent.
1881-1891	+9·2 ,,
1891-1901	+5·9 ,,

Condtions in 901-1911.

27. In the last Census Report the condition of the province in 1901 was described as anything but satisfactory: of the increase in population only 1·36 per cent. was due to natural growth and there had been very serious losses in Nowgong, Kamrup and Darrang: it was pointed out that, in addition to the destruction caused by kala-azar, the earthquake of 1897 seemed to have sent a death wave over the province in the last years of the previous decade. The last decade may be divided roughly into three parts 1901-1904, 1905-1907, 1908-1910. In the first period general health improved slowly at the beginning and then rapidly; in 1904, births exceeded deaths in every district, and in Mangaldai subdivision of Darrang births and deaths exactly balanced for the first time in twenty years. During the same period the depressed condition

of the tea industry compelled economy, which resulted in a continuous decline both in importations and labour force. In the autumn of 1905 exceptionally high floods were succeeded by a virulent outbreak of cholera, which caused an excess of deaths in every plains district; the death rate from cholera alone rose from 1·1 per mille in 1904 to 4·2 in 1905 and 6·5 in 1906: the epidemic died down in 1907 and public health began to improve again. Prices rose in 1905 and remained high until the end of the second period, but this had no effect on the people, who are mostly cultivators. Curiously enough it was in 1905 that the prospects of tea began to change for the better, and the improvement caused an increase in the labour force and more extensive importation until in 1907, aided by scarcity in the recruiting districts, the volume of immigration rose to nearly 85,000 (including nearly 26,000 children) or three times the annual average of the previous five years. In the last period, 1908-1910, there was a fall in prices and public health gradually improved, though the cholera death rate again rose to 4·2 per mille in 1908 and to 6·3 in 1910: recruitment for tea gardens declined somewhat, but still remained high and in the year ending 30th June 1910 was considerably higher than the average of the years 1902-1906. We have thus to deal with a distinctly progressive decade, which was somewhat marred midway by a cholera epidemic, and before the census was taken every indication pointed to a large increase in the population. Land Revenue increased from 57 lakhs in 1901-1902 to over 67 lakhs in 1909-1910, and between the end of 1901 and the middle of 1910 the labour force on tea gardens increased by nearly 114,000 persons.

Communications have been vastly improved. The Assam-Bengal Railway has been carried through the North Cachar hills and has linked up the south of the Assam Valley as far north as Dibrugarh with Chittagong and Calcutta. The Eastern Bengal State Railway has been extended through Goalpara and Kamrup on north bank of the Brahmaputra and has brought Calcutta within 24 hours of Gauhati, where it meets a branch of the Assam-Bengal Railway.

Vital Statstics.

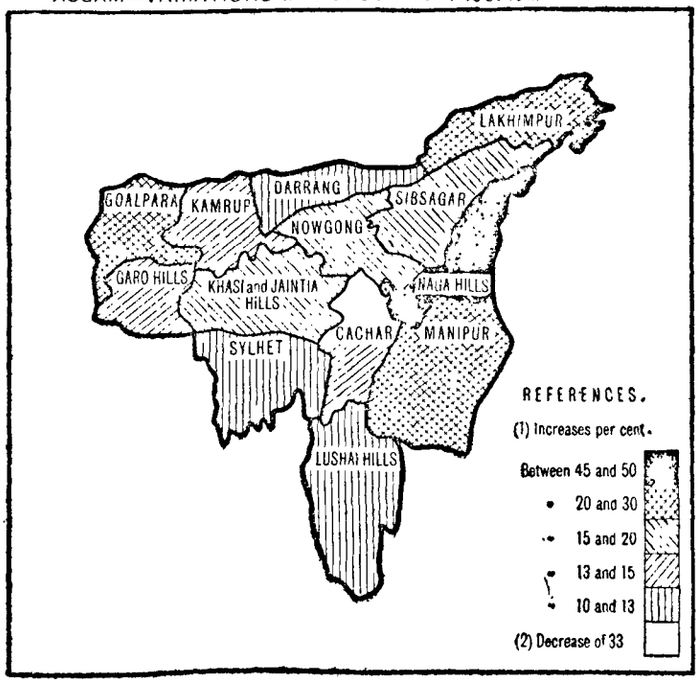
28. If we were to leave migration out of account and if the registration of births and deaths were accurate, we could calculate the population of each district at any time by adding to the figures of the last census the excess of births over deaths in the interval. But in Assam we cannot neglect immigration, which has a most important influence on the movement of population, and the system of recording vital statistics is so bad that their statistical value is greatly diminished. Registration is compulsory only in municipalities and tea gardens, but approximates to accuracy only in the latter and then only for coolies under agreement under Act VI of 1901. In the hill districts there is no registration except in Lushai Hills and limited areas in Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Naga Hills and Garo Hills. As far as the plains are concerned, the system in force up to 1904 was that described in paragraph 55 of the last Census Report; briefly, in the five upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley returns of rural vital statistics were submitted verbally twice a month by the *gaonburas* or village headmen to the subordinate revenue staff, who sent in monthly totals; in Goalpara and the Surma Valley the police collected the statistics, in the former area from written reports submitted by village panchayets and in the latter from verbal reports by the village chaukidars. At the end of 1904 the question of the improvement of the returns was taken up, and urban registration was transferred from the police to special headmen in the Brahmaputra Valley; from the beginning of 1907 the *gaonburas* have kept a local record in rural areas and report directly to mauzadars; and in 1908 the compilation of district statistics was transferred from the Deputy Commissioner to the Civil Surgeon. The Sanitary Commissioner of Eastern Bengal and Assam was satisfied that the local records of Assam were more thoroughly inspected than those of Eastern Bengal, but that they were incomplete is shown by the facts that in 1907 out of 3,232 occurrences in Lakhimpur 153 omissions were detected, that in one village of 200 inhabitants there was no *gaonbura* and of course no registers, and that in several other villages the *gaonburas* lived miles away. Subsidiary Table III compares the census results, in natural and actual population, with those obtained from the vital statistics. In view of the large amount of immigration to tea gardens it would not be reasonable to expect that the vital statistics should approximate to those of the actual population, but when we compare them with the figures for natural population the discrepancies are so large that it is obvious that they are most inaccurate, and it is perhaps hardly worthwhile to discuss the matter further here, but paragraph 64 on birth and death rates in Chapter V should be referred to.

Growth of population at the present Census.

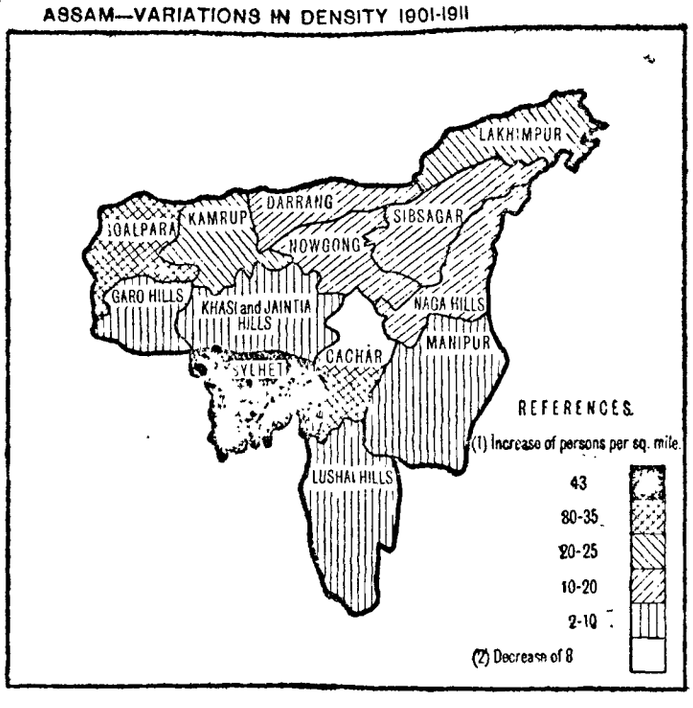
29. The increase in the population since 1901 has been 933,514 persons, or 15·2 per cent., but part of this is due to the inclusion for the first time of certain Sema and eastern Angami villages in the Naga Hills, which were only under political control at the last census: their population is 39,586 and its exclusion reduces the increase in the province to 893,928, or almost 14·6 per cent.

The Brahmaputra Valley shows a growth of 18·7 per cent., the Surma Valley one of 10·8 per cent. and the Hills one of 18·5 per cent.: for the first time on record the Brahmaputra Valley has passed the Surma Valley in actual population. The largest increase in one district was in Goalpara where it amounts to 30 per cent.: then follow Lakhimpur with 26·3 per cent. and Manipur State with 21·7 per cent: no other district shows an advance of 20 per cent. We must of course exclude the Naga Hills, where the apparent increase of 46·1 per cent. is reduced to 10·4 by the exclusion of the added territory. The apparently large decrease in North Cachar is due to the removal of about 20,000 persons who were engaged on railway construction in 1901. Sylhet, which is the most populous district, shows the smallest proportional increase, but this is as much as 10·3 per cent., and every district shows considerable progress, which is a much more satisfactory result than that which accrued at the last census. The two maps in the margin show (*a*) the percentages of variation since 1901, and (*b*) the number of persons per square mile added to the number then recorded. It must be noted that the largest actual increase is in Sylhet, where there are now 230,823 persons more than there were in 1901 and the density per square mile has risen by no less than 43; Goalpara is next with a growth from 117 to 152 persons per square mile and is followed by Cachar plains. Subsidiary Table I shows that the highest rise in density has been in the Surma Valley, where it is now 406 against 367 at the last census: the Brahmaputra Valley shows an increase of 20, and the Hills one of only 5 persons per square mile.

ASSAM—VARIATIONS IN POPULATION. 1901-1911.



ASSAM—VARIATIONS IN DENSITY 1901-1911



Brahmaputra Valley.

30. The population of the Brahmaputra Valley has increased by 18·7 per cent., but part of this is due to immigration and the increase in natural population, *i.e.*, exclusive of immigrants and inclusive of emigrants, amounts to 16·7 per cent. I regret that in the case of Lakhimpur

and Sibsagar it is generally impossible to guarantee the statistics of 1901 for areas smaller than subdivisions. The orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam directed the arrangement of mauzas according to police thanas in the five upper districts of the Valley: unfortunately the boundaries of thanas are most arbitrary in Lakhimpur and Sibsagar, and though there have been extensive changes of jurisdiction since the last census, no arrangements were made to record them for statistical purposes: in some cases the village registers of 1901 were not forthcoming, and in others it was impossible to locate the areas mentioned in the registers owing to the expansion of cultivation and alterations in the names of villages. I received figures purporting to show the facts of 1901, but they proved unreliable when tested: for example, in Lakhimpur an apparent decrease of 25 per cent. in the population of one mauza was concomitant with an actual increase in land revenue of Rs. 13,000. Every effort was made at the present census to compile accurate and detailed figures of village population by mauzas and thanas, and there should be little difficulty in obtaining comparative statistics of small areas at the next census, but it is essential that some arrangements should be made for recording changes of jurisdiction, so that population statistics may be readily and regularly brought up to date during the next decade.

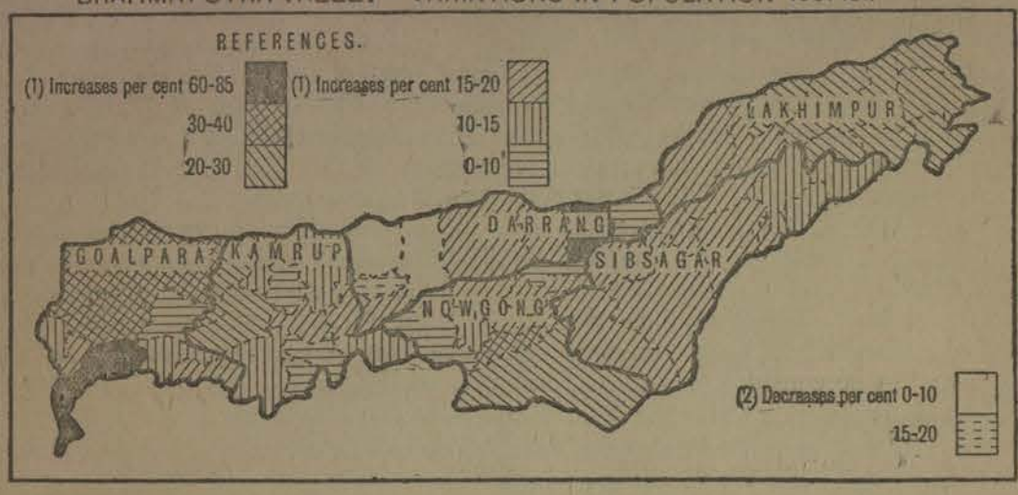
Lakhimpur is the most progressive district in the province, and owing to its development by the tea industry now contains nearly four times the number of people it possessed forty years ago. Dibrugarh subdivision shows a growth of 29 per cent. against 17 per cent. in North Lakhimpur; the difference is due to the fact that the former is more suitable for tea, without which indeed it would be a howling waste. North Lakhimpur is too low-lying and subject to floods to be an attractive area for the tea planter, and it is generally only in the neighbourhood of the hills that land well above flood level is found. The natural population of the district shows a growth of 34·3 per cent. which is higher than the actual growth and shows that the district loses partly by emigration, which consists mainly in the westward trekking of time-expired coolies, and partly to the higher death rate amongst new immigrants. It is perhaps only natural that the extraordinary rapid rate of expansion disclosed at previous censuses should show some signs of slacking off. The Deputy Commissioner attributes this to the slower development of the tea industry, which is due to conditions ruling the market and the fact that practically all the available land near existing communications has been taken up: there has been an increase of only 5,000 acres in the area of land held by tea companies since 1901. A curious effect of the acquisition of land by ex-coolies is that there is a steady movement of the indigenous population away from the main centres of colonisation; this is said to be due partly to aversion from the social customs of the coolies, but still more to the thrifty and industrious habits of the latter, which the local people have no ambition to emulate: it is to be feared that their addiction to opium is partly responsible for their want of energy. The Deputy Commissioner is of opinion that in no long time Dibrugarh subdivision will be populated almost entirely by immigrants or their descendants.

In Sibsagar, another large tea tract, we have an increase of 13·41 per cent. in Sibsagar subdivision, of 16·20 in Jorhat, and of 17·02 in Golaghat, the average for the district being 15·4 per cent., which is less than that shown at any previous census. Here again the natural population has grown more rapidly than the actual and for the same reasons as in the case of Lakhimpur. There are extensive areas of waste in Golaghat, where the density of population is only 65, but unfortunately the Nambor forest, which covers a great part of the subdivision, is most unhealthy and it will take many years to open it up. Jorhat has a density of 247 and there is not a great deal of unoccupied land now in the subdivision. Sibsagar has many more tea gardens than Golaghat and is only slightly less thickly populated than Jorhat. We may expect that Golaghat will continue to progress more rapidly than the other subdivisions and that soon Jorhat will show the slowest rate of expansion. The completion of the Assam-Bengal Railway has apparently brought with it a large amount of prosperity to the whole district. It is regrettable that I am unable to treat more in detail such a large and interesting district, but it would appear from the reports of the local authorities that the decade has been one of uneventful prosperity: the absence of a history is better than a record of disasters.

The population of Nowgong, which showed the large decrease of 24·8 per cent. in 1901 on account of the ravages of the kala-azar epidemic, has increased by 16·2 per cent., but the natural population has grown by only 14·3 per cent. The earthquake of 1897 altered the levels so greatly that the north of the district became much more

exposed to floods, and the people of the riverain tract between the Brahmaputra and the Kallang, especially those of mauza Gerua Bokoni, have been compelled to migrate to Darrang on the north bank of the Brahmaputra. The Assam-Bengal Railway has been the cause of considerable development by immigrants in the Kopili Valley, especially in the neighbourhood of Lumding junction: these immigrants include people from Dacca and Mymensingh, as well as from the Surma Valley. The tea gardens of the district, though comparatively few, contribute to the growth of population by importing coolies, over 13,000 of whom arrived in the first nine years of the last decade. The population of the district is still lower than it was in 1881, but there is no reason now why it should not resume its position as a prosperous and progressive tract. Kala-azar has disappeared: the people were given great assistance towards recovering their losses by handsome remissions of revenue in 1901 and the recent settlement of the district was made with great care and moderation: colonisation along the railway is slow but progressive, and no doubt will proceed more rapidly as the jungle is cut back.

BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY—VARIATIONS IN POPULATION 1901-1911



Darrang is made up of two subdivisions of very dissimilar characters, Tezpur on the east and Mangaldai on the west: Tezpur is a sparsely populated tract, which has been mostly opened up by tea gardens, while in Mangaldai the soil, except under the hills, is not particularly suitable for tea and the subdivision consists of three tracts—a fairly well cultivated tract in the south-west being separated by an intervening belt of rather useless jungle from a thinly populated submontane area which is inhabited by people of the Bodo race. The district as a whole shows an actual increase in population of 11·9 per cent., but 3·1 per cent. of this is due to immigration. In Tezpur subdivision the people have grown by 24·24 per cent., but in Mangaldai, where the population had declined by 9·2 per cent. in 1901, there is still an actual decrease of 0·25 per cent., which is due to losses in the northern mauzas; the effects of kala-azar have not yet disappeared from the latter and they seem to have been more seriously effected by the cholera epidemic in 1906. Mangaldai thana in the south shows an increase of 15·16 per cent., which is partly accounted for by immigration from the flooded tracts in the north of Nowgong, but all the other thanas show decreases, which unfortunately are confirmed by the results of the recent resettlement of the district; practically speaking, however, we may take it that Mangaldai subdivision is on the way towards recovery, and that an increase of population may be expected at the next census. In Tezpur subdivision the very large advance of over 82 per cent. in Behali thana is due to colonisation by ex-coolies and Nepali graziers, and the satisfactory expansion of over 18 per cent. in Tezpur and Sootea is due partly to natural growth and partly to immigration. The slowest rate of increase is in the east of the district in Gohpur thana and may be attributed to the absence of tea gardens and to the tendency of ex-coolies to travel westward in search of a settlement; there are not many gardens in North Lakhimpur on the east and there are large areas of waste awaiting them there; the fact that the west of Tezpur subdivision is being gradually filled up may direct a stream of colonists eastward, but it is more probable that the would-be settlers from Tezpur will find their way to Mangaldai on the west.

Kamrup was the second district which showed a decrease of population in 1901, partly on account of kala-azar and partly owing to the alteration in levels at the 1897 earthquake, which forced people to migrate from tracts that had sunk below

flood-level or had their drainage systems obstructed. Now there is an increase of 13·3 per cent. in the total population, while the natural growth amounts to 10·4 per cent. The areas which had become subject to floods after the earthquake have been largely reclaimed during the past decade, and many people who were compelled to leave the district have been gradually returning; for instance, in Barpeta subdivision those who emigrated to Goalpara and to the south bank of the Brahmaputra have again settled down and new settlers are coming in. The great improvement in communications effected by the extension of the Eastern Bengal State Railway to Gauhati is likely to lead to a further growth in population. As it is, there have been satisfactory increases in every part of the district: Gauhati subdivision shows an advance of 11·71 per cent. and Barpeta one of 20·02 per cent., the excess in the latter case being due to a return to more normal conditions. Least progress has been made on the south bank of the Brahmaputra: this is partly due to the fact that Polasbari thana is already pretty thickly populated and that the other thanas are rather unhealthy. In the area on the north bank Nalbari thana, which has a density of 495, naturally shows the smallest percentage of increase, but it is as high as 9·76 and cannot be considered as other than very satisfactory.

The two main features to be noted in Goalpara are the extension of the railway through the north of the district and the extraordinary incourse of settlers to the *char* lands from the Bengal districts of Mymensingh, Pabna, Bogra and Rangpur. The thanas most affected are those which skirt the Brahmaputra in the west of the district: the increase in population is 70·15 per cent in South Salmara, 61·81 in Lakhipur and 38·65 in Bilasipara. The total population of the district has increased by 30 per cent., the growth in Dhubri subdivision being 33·97 per cent. as compared with 19·97 in Goalpara. The extent of the immigration can be estimated from the fact that the growth in natural population has been only 15·6 per cent. The opening of the railway is no doubt the cause of the advance of 32·91 per cent. in the tract known as the Eastern Duars in the north of the district: it is reported that large numbers of Nepalis have settled there for the purpose of cultivating as well as of grazing.

The Assamese.

31. The question of the variations in the number of the people who may be distinctively called Assamese was discussed in Chapter II of the last Census Report. As was pointed out there, an Assamese is not necessarily a person born in Assam, for the term can properly be applied only to a native of the Brahmaputra Valley and even there excludes all descendants of immigrants: nor can we identify him by his language, because large numbers of coolies and ex-coolies, especially in the eastern end of the Valley, have returned Assamese as their language. I accordingly follow Mr. Allen's example and propose to estimate the variation by assuming that what holds good for a large proportion of purely Assamese castes in the five upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley may be accepted as indicating the changes in the whole. In Subsidiary Table V I have taken the same castes as were shown in the last Census Report and compared the numbers at present returned as belonging to them with those given in 1901: the net result is that there is an increase of 11·11 per cent., which is over 5 per cent. less than the growth in natural population in the Brahmaputra Valley. This would tend to show either that the foreign settlers are more prolific than the Assamese or that the latter have not yet fully recovered from the effects of the calamities of the decade before last. The statement in the margin shows for each of the five districts the proportion which the castes in question bear now to the total district population as compared with 1901, and the actual variation per cent. in the total numbers of the castes at the present and the last census. It will be noticed that in the large tea districts of Darrang, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur the indigenous castes now form a smaller portion of the population: this is accounted for in great measure by immigration, but may also be due to greater fecundity on the part of the immigrant population, including of course those settled in villages: in Kamrup and Nowgong, where tea is not of so much importance, the variation since 1901 is not so great. The main point is that, excluding Darrang, the Assamese castes show very substantial growth. Unfortunately the statistics for Darrang are confirmed by the decreases in the actual population of the northern mauzas of Mangaldai, to which attention has already been drawn and which would account for the decline in the Kachari, Koch and Rabha.

District.	Percentage of District Population.		Actual variation per cent.	
	1901	1911	1911	1901
TOTAL ...	69·79	66·69	+ 11·11	— 6·4
Kamrup ...	83·95	82·41	+ 11·39	— 8·3
Darrang ...	67·17	59·91	— 0·23	— 5·9
Nowgong ...	82·2[illegible]	81·22	+ 14·76	— 31·5
Sibsagar ...	64·46	62·71	+ [illegible]·3	+ 8·6
Lakhimpur ...	49·67	46·22	+ 17·52	+ 19·7

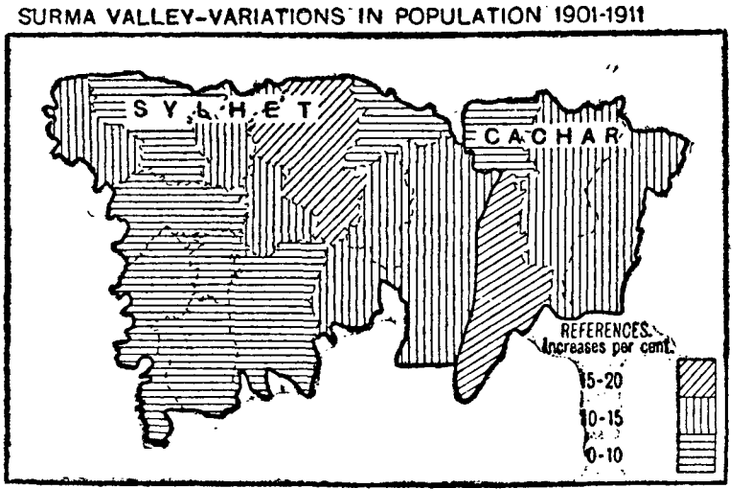
castes. But the results in the other districts are very satisfactory, and even the check to the decline in Darrang is at least a sign that there things are on the mend. In 1901 the Assamese castes showed a decline of 6·4 per cent. in spite of substantial increases in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur: now they are more numerous by over 4 per cent. than they were in 1891 in spite of their severe losses in the nineties. Thus the hope expressed at the end of Chapter II of the last Census Report has been more than realised, and the Assamese can no longer be considered a declining race.

Surma Valley.

32. It is regrettable that the natural population of the Surma Valley cannot be estimated exactly, because the statistics of immigrants and emigrants have been compiled for whole districts only, hence, though the actual variations in the plains of Cachar are available in Subsidiary Table I, the figures in Subsidiary Table II include those of the hill portion as well. According to Subsidiary Table I the actual increase in the Surma Valley proper is 10·8 per cent., that of Cachar plains being 13·4 per cent. and that of Sylhet 10·3 per cent. The natural population of Sylhet has increased by 11·7 per cent. so that it is clear that the district has lost by emigration. Taking Cachar district as a whole, the actual increase is nearly 9·3 per cent. whereas the natural population has increased by 25·3 per cent.: the difference is due to the excessively large number of immigrants in North Cachar at the last census and to greater emigration within the last decade.

In Cachar plains the sadr subdivision shows an increase of 12·33 per cent. and Hailakandi, which is coterminous with the thana of the same name, one of 16·88 per cent. In the sadr subdivision both Silchar and Lakhipur thanas have grown by over 13 per cent, but Katigora, which includes the south-western spurs of North Cachar, has grown by only 5·29 per cent. The district owes a great part of its importance to its tea gardens, but during the last ten years the number of coolies imported to them was only 20,000 as compared with 75,000 in the previous decade. Hailakandi is not alone the most densely populated part of the district, but is also the most progressive; in Silchar subdivision there are large areas of jungle-covered hills, swamps and rivers.

SURMA VALLEY-VARIATIONS IN POPULATION 1901-1911



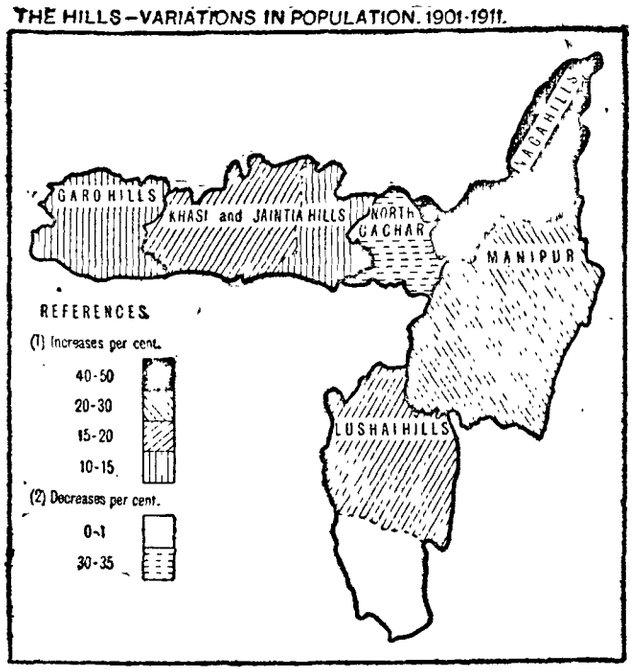
In Sylhet the largest increases of population have been in North Sylhet and Karimganj subdivisions, each of which has grown by a little over 13 per cent. In the former case the present results show a remarkable contrast with those of the last census, when the population had decreased in every thana and had declined by nearly 4 per cent. in the whole subdivision: now there are increases of over 14 and 15 per cent. in Balaganj and Sylhet thanas, respectively, while Kanairghat shows an increase of over 3 per cent. In Sunamganj subdivision there has been over double the increase disclosed in 1901 and in none of its four thanas has there been an increase of less than 9·6 per cent., the highest being in Chhatak, where it is 12·85 per cent. Habiganj subdivision is apparently not as progressive as it was, the increase per cent. being only 7·58 as compared with nearly 10 in 1901, but as the population in each of the thanas of the subdivision is very dense, it is only natural that the rate of increase should be somewhat diminished; Madhabpur shows the greatest signs of progress, 8·28 per cent., and is followed in order by thanas Baniachang, Nabiganj and Habiganj. In South Sylhet the inhabitants of Kulaura thana have grown by over 11 per cent., while in Maulvi-Bazar there has been an increase of over 6 per cent.; the progress in the whole subdivision has been three times that shown ten years ago. The two thanas of Karimganj subdivision show increases slightly above and slightly under 13 per cent. Taking it all round, the present condition of Sylhet district is extremely satisfactory and the figures show that it has recovered from the effects of the wave of malaria which was reported to have passed over it after the earthquake and which accounted for the decrease of population in North Sylhet and the unsatisfactory condition of South Sylhet and Karimganj at the last census. Within the last ten years over 54,000 coolies have been imported into the tea gardens and large numbers of people from Mymensingh and

Tippera are reported to have settled in the district and reclaimed many of the extensive low-lying basins which are locally known as *haors*. On the other hand, large numbers are said to have emigrated to Cachar and the neighbouring districts of Bengal, especially to the State of Hill Tippera.

Hills.

33. The population of the Hills has increased by 18·5 per cent. since 1901 in spite of a decrease of over 33 per cent. in North Cachar, which has been explained above as due to the presence of large numbers of coolies on railway construction in 1901. The cause of the large increase in the population in the Naga Hills has also been explained as being mainly due to an increase of territory: the residuary growth is almost entirely natural and is due to general peace and uneventful progress. The check to the growth of population in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, caused by the after effects of the earthquake of 1897, has now been removed and the district as a whole shows the satisfactory increase of 16·2 per cent., though the natural population has increased by only 14·9 on account of the increase in immigrants. It is clear that the forecast made in paragraph 49 of the last Census Report was correct; a return to normal conditions has brought about a return to the previous rate of expansion. Shillong subdivision shows an increase of over 17 per cent. against 14·63 per cent. in Jowai: this is probably due to the fact that the former suffered more severely from the effects of the earthquake and the rebound is naturally greater. The Garo Hills show an increase of nearly 15 per cent., but the natural population has grown by 16·3 per cent. and the difference is apparently due to a check on immigration to the plains mauzas on the north-west of the district, which have become much more subject to floods since the earthquake of 1897. In Lushai Hills the population has grown by 10·6 per cent., of which Aijal subdivision is responsible for 15·82 per cent. while Lungleh on the south shows a decrease of 0·54 per cent. The natural population of the district has grown by 16·4 per cent. and the difference is due to greater emigration, which is probably accounted for by the movement of villages over the district boundaries in search of new cultivation. The Superintendent of the district explains the absence of progress in Lungleh, in spite of the absorption of five independent villages whose population in 1901 is unknown, to the general unhealthiness of the subdivision, which arises from the fact that the people prefer to live at low elevations near their *jhums*; it also appears that the Military Police detachments were enumerated as a whole battalion with headquarters at Aijal, instead of being allocated to the posts where they actually were on the census night. Practically the whole of the increase in the State of Manipur is due to natural growth: in the Valley Section population has grown by 16·67 per cent. and in the Hill Section by 31·68 per cent.: no doubt part of the increase in the latter is due to more accurate enumeration. In the Valley Section the people have reaped great advantages from the improvement of the cart road to the Assam-Bengal Railway, and large quantities of rice are now exported: the decade has been one of general peace and prosperity. In the Hill Section the Vice-President of the Durbar attributes the increase to stronger and more secure government and a general advance in civilisation.

THE HILLS—VARIATIONS IN POPULATION 1901-1911.



General conclusions.

34. Quite a number of considerations have to be taken into account when estimating the causes of the variations of the province as a whole. We may neglect the effects of the inclusion of new areas and of more accurate enumeration as compared with 1901, because they are hardly large enough to make any real difference. The actual population has grown by 15·2 per cent. and the natural population by 15·8 per cent.; there has been an increase of 13·7 per cent. in the number of immigrants, but the emigrants have grown by over 55 per cent. and the actual result of the variations of migration is to produce practically a state of equilibrium. After the last census the province began

to recover at first steadily and then rapidly from the general conditions of unhealthiness then prevalent; at the middle and end of the decade cholera epidemics caused an excessive mortality, but the general prosperity was unimpaired, and the remarkable rise in prices in 1907 conferred considerable benefits on the people, who are mostly cultivators. Communications have been vastly improved and Assam is no longer cut off from the main currents of life and progress. During the latter half of the decade the tea industry has advanced from the condition of a continual struggle for existence to one of very considerable prosperity, which has been and is likely to be maintained by the difficulties of obtaining labour, because rapid and improvident extensions of cultivation are impossible. Immigration, which has always been a most important factor in the variations of population in Assam, has apparently begun to be something more than the mere supply of the actual needs of the tea industry and the casual incourse of cold weather coolies in search of work: we have now what seems to be the commencement of a voluntary stream of settlers, who are at present most in evidence at the outskirts of the Brahmaputra Valley, but have ventured as far east as Tezpur and Nowgong; nor has the Surma Valley been without some little share in this development, though the demand for population there is nothing like what it is in the north of the province. During the past decade the increase in the volume of immigration has actually fallen behind the natural growth of the people, and we now find that the province has within itself a power of expansion that has unfortunately been absent at the last two censuses. The great drawback of an excessive mortality due to the jungly and insanitary conditions hitherto prevailing seems at last to have been removed. The effects of the distribution of the people by religion and race must not be forgotten; the fact, which is discussed in Chapter IV, that Muhammadans increase more rapidly than Hindus, should tend generally to accelerate the growth of population in the Surma Valley to a more rapid rate than that of the Brahmaputra Valley, but in the latter area the large amount of immigration disturbs the progress of natural growth, and moreover in the present instance the recovery of the people, who suffered more than those of the Surma Valley, from the evil days of the nineties is responsible for an expansion above the normal. An endeavour is made in Chapter V to bring out the effects of variations in the age distribution of the population, and it is shown that at the last census there had been heavy mortality at the extremes of life owing to kala-azar and the general effects of the earthquake, while people in the prime of life had increased. The result is that we have now a more than normal increase in the population: the proportions of the old people and the young people, who are more liable to a high mortality, had been diminished in 1901, and the last decade started with a more than normal proportion of persons in the reproductive period of life; accordingly the mortality rate has been lower than the average and the birth-rate higher. The effect of this should be that in the next decade the birth rate will decline and the death rate will rise, and the next census should show a slower rate of natural growth.

The above considerations do not all apply to the Hills, but it may be taken that the general peace and security now prevailing in this tract, added to the rise in the standard of civilisation, are in a great measure the causes of the increase which has now accrued. The causes of accidental variations due, for example, to the unhealthiness of the Khasi Hills after the earthquake and the presence at the last census of large numbers of foreigners in North Cachar no longer exist, but the deterioration of the north-west plains mauzas of Garo Hills is apparently permanent. It is perhaps too much to expect that the present high rate of expansion will be maintained, but there is no reason why we should not anticipate a large increase during the present decade.

When considering the present growth of population and estimating for the future, it is advisable to note whether there is room for further increases. Subsidiary Table IV shows the actual and the proportional variations of thanas classed by density; unfortunately it has been possible only to give statistics for the last decade, because the areas of thanas in 1881 and 1891 are unknown. In the province the highest actual increase has taken place in areas with a density in 1901 of under 150 to the square mile, and there is a steady diminution in actual growth corresponding to the rise in density. It is plain that there is ample room for very great expansion and that there is very little chance of overcrowding in either the Brahmaputra Valley or the Hills. The figures for the Surma Valley how that the greatest actual growth took place in thanas with 300-450 to the square mile, while the proportional increase in the areas of greatest density, 600-750, is very nearly as great as that in the class just below it. Sylhet is yet a great deal behind the districts in the east of Bengal in the matter of population, and there is no reason why it should not continue to expand.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Variation in relation to density since 1872.

District and Natural Division.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION. INCREASE (+) DECREASE (−).				Net variation, 1872-1911.	MEAN DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE.				
	1901 to 1911.	1891 to 1901.	1881 to 1891.	1872 to 1881.		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1872.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM	+15·2	+11·8	+6·8	+23·6	+70·1	115	100	89	83	68
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	+18·7	+5·8	+10·0	+19·5	+65·0	126	106	101	92	77
Goalpara	+30·0	+2·0	+1·4	+15·3	+55·1	152	117	115	113	98
Kamrup	+13·3	−7·1	−1·7	+14·8	+18·9	173	153	164	167	146
Darrang	+11·9	+9·7	+12·6	+15·8	+60·1	110	99	90	80	69
Nowgong	+16·2	−24·8	+10·3	+21·0	+16·7	79	68	90	82	68
Sibsagar	+15·4	+24·4	+22·4	+23·5	+117·2	138	120	96	79	64
Lakhimpur	+26·3	+46·2	+41·2	+48·3	+286·7	104	82	56	40	27
SURMA VALLEY	+10·8	+5·3	+11·5	+17·6	52·9	406	367	348	312	266
Cachar plains	+13·4	+12·9	+25·1	+43·3	+129·3	253	223	198	158	110
Sylhet	+10·3	+4·0	+9·4	+14·5	+43·8	459	416	400	365	319
HILLS	+18·5	+77·7	−22·1	+79·5	194·7	34	29	16	21	12
Garo Hills	+14·9	+13·7	+11·0	+8·7	+57·7	51	44	39	35	32
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	+16·2	+2·2	+17·9	+19·6	+67·5	39	34	33	28	23
North Cachar	−33·1	+115·5	−5·9	−32·9	−90·1	16	24	11	12	18
Naga Hills	+46·1	+6·0	+1·1	+34·6	+110·7	49	33	31	31	23
Manipur	+21·7	*	*	*	*	41	34	*	26	*
Lushai Hills	+10·6	+88·9	*	*	*	13	11	6	*	*

* Figures not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Variation in Natural Population.

District and Natural Division.	Population in 1911.				Population in 1901.				Variation per cent. (1901-1911) in Natural population + increase − decrease
	Actual population.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Natural population.	
1	3	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ASSAM	7,059,857	882,063	†79,717	†6,257,506	6,126,343	775,844	* 51,323	5,401,822	+15·8
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY... ...	3,108,669	631,552	25, 18	2,503,035	2,619,077	491,043	17,622	2,145,656	+16·7
Goalpara	600,643	118,233	17, 915	500,225	462,052	49,059	19,557	432,550	+15·6
Kamrup	667,828	31,573	22 948	659,203	589,187	19,355	27,017	596,849	+10·4
Darrang	377,314	121,305	4 ,424	260,433	357,313	100,463	2,590	239,440	+8·8
Nowgong	303,596	38,966	15,241	279,871	261,160	34,767	18,451	244,844	+14·3
Sibsagar	690,299	183,210	14,983	522,072	597,969	183,643	8,887	423,213	+23·4
Lakhimpur	468,989	197,418	8,736	280,307	371,396	166,408	3,772	208,760	+34·3
SURMA VALLEY	2,970,134	245,640	64,223	2,788,708	2,697,441	286,834	46,921	2,457,528	+13·7
Cachar (including North Cachar)	497,463	110,507	10,207	397,163	455,593	146,750	8,009	316,852	+25·3
Sylhet	2,472,671	163,456	82,330	2,391,545	2,241,848	170,166	68,994	2,140,676	+11·7
HILLS	981,054	36,674	20,852	965,232	809,825	32,804	18,286	795,307	+21·4
Garo Hills	158,936	12,883	3,615	149,668	138,274	13,630	4,032	128,676	+16·3
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	235,069	11,511	3,590	227,157	202,250	7,274	2,735	197,711	+14·9
North Cachar	Separate figures not available.								
Naga Hills	149,033	3,614	8,715	154,724	102,402	6,067	11,161	107,496	+43·9
Manipur	340,222	7,995	6,258	344,485	284,465	3,343	3,568	284,780	+21·0
Lushai Hills	91,204	6,982	4,076	89,198	82,454	5,925	135	76,644	+16·4

* The figure in column 8 for the province includes 3,038 emigrants to provinces other than Bengal who cannot be located and are excluded from the district figures.

† Since this chapter was written intimation has been received that 30 males and 1 female born in Assam were censused in the Union of South Africa : they are not included in the above figures.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Comparison with Vital Statistics.

District and Natural Division.	In 1901-1910 total number of		Number per cent. of population of 1901 of		Excess (+) or deficiency (—) of births over deaths.	Increase (+) decrease (—) of population of 1911 compared with 1901.	
	Births.	Deaths.	Births.	Deaths.		Natural population.	Actual population.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ASSAM	1,883,545	1,564,022	35·70	29·65	+ 319,523	+ 687,950	+ 775,801
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	919,219	813,205	35·09	31·04	+ 106,014	+ 357,379	+ 489,592
Goalpara	220,036	177,608	47·62	38·43	+ 42,428	+ 67,675	+ 138,591
Kamrup	201,002	166,995	34·11	28·34	+ 34,007	+ 62,354	+ 78,641
Darrang	117,410	132,232	34·80	39·20	— 14,822	+ 20,993	+ 40,001
Nowgong	92,612	76,093	35·46	29·13	+ 16,519	+ 35,027	+ 42,436
Sibsagar	173,748	153,770	29·05	25·71	+ 19,978	+ 98,859	+ 92,330
Lakhimpur	114,411	106,507	30·80	28·67	+ 7,904	+ 71,547	+ 97,593
SURMA VALLEY	964,326	750,817	36·29	28·26	+ 213,509	+ 331,180	+ 286,269
Cachar plains	153,055	113,258	36·90	27·31	+ 39,797	+ 80,311	+ 55,386
Sylhet	811,271	637,559	36·18	28·43	+ 173,712	+ 250,869	+ 230,823

NOTE.—This statement is exclusive of the figures of the hill districts as birth and death statistics are not recorded in them as a whole.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Variation by thanas classified according to density.

Natural Division.	Decade.	Variation in thanas with a population per square mile at commencement of decade of				
		Under 150.	150—300.	300—450.	450—600.	600—750.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
(a) Actual Variation.						
ASSAM	1901—1911	+ 465,192	+ 187,985	+ 182,469	+ 88,004	+ 9,864
Brahmaputra Valley	1901—1911	+ 304,859	+ 123,333	+ 61,184	+ 225	...
Surma Valley	1901—1911	+ 2,629	+ 64,652	+ 121,285	+ 87,779	+ 9,864
Hills	1901—1911	+ 157,713	...	...	...	...
(b) Proportional Variation.						
ASSAM	1901—1911	+ 20·07	+ 16·64	+ 12·76	+ 7·79	+ 8·28
Brahmaputra Valley	1901—1911	+ 21·51	+ 19·56	+ 14·41	+ ·15	...
Surma Valley...	1901—1911	+ 5·29	+ 12·95	+ 12·06	+ 8·93	+ 8·28
Hills	1901—1911	+ 18·54	...	...	...	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Indigenous Castes and Tribes.

Indigenous Castes and Tribes.	Kamrup.			Darrang.			Nowgong.			Sibsagar.			Lakhimpur.			Total.		
	1901.	1911.	+ or −.	1901.	1911.	+ or −.	1901.	1911.	+ or −.	1901.	1911.	+ or −.	1901.	1911.	+ or −.	1901.	1911.	+ or −.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Abor ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	3	−1	317	853	+536	321	856	+535
Ahom ...	557	523	−34	3,454	3,575	+121	3,381	3,759	+378	111,119	129,350	+18,231	59,050	60,080	+1,030	177,561	197,287	+19,726
Alton ...	1	...	−1	...	...	...	...	...	...	84	411	+327	...	...	...	85	411	+326
Assamese ...	...	...	...	2	...	−2	...	...	...	...	...	...	374	...	−374	376	...	−376
Barna Brahman.	94	99	+5	25	359	+334	14	289	+275	35	1	−34	240	47	−193	408	795	+387
Baria ...	1,002	1,338	+336	3,786	4,143	+357	7,799	8,906	+1,107	5,348	5,773	+425	1,294	1,277	−17	19,229	21,437	+2,208
Brahman ...	23,145	26,159	+3,014	6,432	10,784	+4,352	6,115	6,619	+504	14,438	17,268	+2,830	3,808	5,091	+1,283	53,938	65,921	+11,983
Brittial Bania	2,547	2,880	+333	1,132	2,260	+1,128	2,146	2,685	+539	2,742	2,829	+87	1,071	1,580	+509	9,738	12,934	+3,196
Chutia ...	713	825	+112	3,553	3,541	+8	6,663	7,015	+352	57,030	57,444	+414	17,548	19,009	+1,461	85,487	87,834	+2,347
Dafla ...	...	...	...	347	519	+172	5	...	−5	2	7	+5	600	458	−142	954	984	+30
Doasia ...	...	...	...	1	...	−1	...	...	...	263	302	+39	751	1,544	+793	1,015	1,846	+831
Dom (Nadiyal).	10,518	12,109	+1,591	10,782	11,516	+734	18,887	21,490	+2,603	23,049	28,206	+5,157	14,416	16,523	+2,107	77,652	89,844	+12,192
Grahabi p r a (Ganak).	6,048	6,586	+538	6,246	5,919	−327	137	313	+176	1,997	2,507	+510	178	312	+134	14,606	15,637	+1,031
Garo ...	5,144	4,769	−375	547	450	−97	966	464	−502	421	479	+58	62	168	+106	7,140	6,330	−810
Hira ...	4,063	5,691	+1,628	1,463	1,405	−58	898	6,822	+5,924	34	11	−23	26	2	−24	6,484	13,931	+7,447
Hojai ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	166	...	−166	...	...	...	...	...	...	166	...	−166
Jugi (Tanti)	17,619	19,114	+1,495	20,414	25,486	+5,072	15,624	18,096	+2,472	10,929	15,281	+4,452	7,392	15,951	+8,559	71,978	94,028	+22,050
Kachari ...	92,104	95,981	+3,877	63,226	57,713	−5,513	11,823	13,781	+1,958	16,618	16,952	+334	25,163	27,953	+2,790	208,934	212,380	+3,446
Kaibartta ...	23,331	18,060	−5,271	387	167	−220	5,930	118	−5,812	5,169	579	−4,590	2,264	985	−1,279	37,081	19,909	−17,172
Kalita ...	115,699	130,427	+14,837	17,836	16,276	−1,560	16,326	16,948	+622	36,627	41,138	+4,511	5,412	5,524	+112	191,791	210,313	+18,522
Kayastha ...	4,322	4,991	+669	1,689	2,020	+331	2,149	2,714	+565	3,791	5,585	+1,794	1,744	2,551	+807	13,695	17,861	+4,166
Kewat ...	21,143	34,630	+13,487	13,236	13,451	+215	7,342	15,176	+7,834	21,116	25,478	4,362	2,797	3,850	+1,053	65,634	92,585	+26,951
Khamti ...	...	...	...	3	46	+43	...	...	...	4	113	+109	1,953	1,692	−261	1,960	1,851	−109
Koch ...	93,850	103,861	+10,011	47,427	42,738	−4,689	33,553	37,046	+3,493	27,531	31,174	+3,643	7,555	7,344	−211	209,916	222,163	+12,247
Lalung ...	1,592	1,759	+167	21	9	−12	29,985	32,791	+2,806	172	183	+11	797	1,081	+284	31,567	35,823	+4,256
Mahalia ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,235	15	−1,220	1,235	15	−1,220
Matak ...	...	...	...	12	...	−12	86	...	−86	30	...	−30	614	9,242	+8,628	742	9,242	+8,500
Mech ...	13	194	+181	36	35	−1	23	3	−20	56	11	−45	55	112	+57	183	355	+172
Mikir ...	10,593	11,342	+749	2,814	3,213	+399	35,730	47,327	+11,597	22,911	25,009	+2,098	54	7	−47	72,102	86,898	+14,796
Miri ...	1	...	−1	4,176	4,568	+392	...	...	...	17,632	22,485	+4,853	24,911	30,424	+5,513	46,720	57,477	+10,757
Mishmi ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	98	271	+173	98	271	+173
Moran ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	125	826	+701	125	826	+701
Moria ...	135	1	−134	161	455	+294	13	15	+2	611	1,040	+429	315	71	−244	1,235	1,582	+347
Mukhi ...	2,391	2,705	+314	8	2	−6	...	...	...	22	2	−20	...	...	...	2,421	2,709	+288
Namasudra...	10,618	11,112	+494	104	146	+42	5,299	77	−5,222	650	150	−500	200	80	−120	16,871	11,565	−5,306
Nat ...	709	958	+253	295	254	+49	763	760	−3	2,571	1,918	−653	138	135	−3	4,377	4,025	−352
Nora ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	142	340	+198	...	...	...	142	340	+198
Patia (Patial)	4	94	+90	114	166	+52	2,327	2,505	+178	7	4	−3	16	15	−1	2,468	2,784	+316
Phakial ...	...	...	...	1	...	−1	...	...	...	...	...	...	218	496	+278	219	496	+277
Rabha ...	16,341	17,798	+1,457	15,431	12,865	−2,566	188	88	−100	63	63	+1	181	95	−86	32,203	30,909	−1,294
Rajbansi ...	103	3,087	+2,984	...	...	...	638	44	−594	200	83	−117	256	236	−20	1,197	3,450	+2,253
Salai ...	7,428	8,224	+796	823	860	+37	64	35	−29	148	2	−144	1	4	+3	8,460	9,125	+665
Shaha (Sonri)	14,495	16,268	+1,773	523	694	+171	824	695	−129	720	143	−577	378	329	−49	16,940	18,130	+1,190
Shan* ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	744	...	−744	14	112	+98	758	112	−646
Singpho ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	824	454	−370	824	454	−370
Solanemia ...	...	...	...	107	121	+14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	107	121	+14
Tehar ...	736	843	+107	72	96	+24	...	...	...	3	...	−3	18	...	−18	829	939	+110
Totla ...	7,015	7,329	+314	22	207	+185	3	...	−3	20	2	−18	10	...	−10	7,070	7,438	+368
Turung ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	411	515	+104	...	...	...	411	515	+104
Total ...	494,654	550,357	+55,703	226,598	226,059	−539	214,867	246,582	+31,715	385,461	432,941	+47,480	184,473	216,799	+32,326	1,905,453	1,672,738	+167,285

CHAPTER III.

BIRTH PLACE.

Introductory.

35. The statistics of birth place, which are contained in Imperial Table XI, have already been utilised in the preceding chapter to show the natural growth of population in different parts of the province: they will now be used to show the extent to which the people migrate from one part of the country to another. It will be advisable, before proceeding to a discussion of the figures, briefly to distinguish the different kinds of migration that must be considered: generally speaking, we may divide them into five different types:—

(1) *Casual* or minor movements between adjacent villages which affect the returns only when such villages happen to lie on opposite sides of the district boundary,

(2) *Temporary*, due to journeys on business, pilgrimage, etc., including movements of labourers for the construction of roads and railways,

(3) *Periodic*, such as the annual movement which occurs in places at harvest time and the seasonal migration of cattle graziers,

(4) *Semi-permanent*, when people reside and earn their living in a district other than their birth place, but retain their connection with their homes, where they may have their families and where they return in their old age and at intervals in the meantime,

(5) *Permanent*, where people actually give up their home district and settle down in a new one.

Our statistics do not show the above movements separately, but we are able to make certain inferences from the proportion of the sexes, the distance of the district of enumeration from the district of birth, and certain notes made at the time of compilation regarding the castes and the occupations of persons coming from distant places. It is not uncommon to find a preponderance of females in casual migration, because young married women often go for their first confinement to their parents' homes: but they would be enumerated in their home district and would not appear as emigrants. Generally the bulk of the periodic and semi-permanent migrants are men. Periodic migration has a tendency to become semi-permanent and the latter to become permanent.

Migration:—general.

36. We have seen from Subsidiary Table II of the previous chapter that in 1911 there were in Assam 882,068 immigrants and that 79,717 persons born in the province were enumerated elsewhere. The total population of the province is 7,059,857, so that the percentage of the foreign born is nearly 12·5 as compared with nearly 13 per cent. at the last census: on the other hand, the number of emigrants is only 1·1 per cent. of the actual population, though it has grown by over 55 per cent. since 1901. It is clear that the province attracts a large stream of strangers and sends out only a small number of its own people.

The statement in the margin shows the constitution per mile of the population of the province according to birth place on the 10th March 1911. The most remarkable feature of the statistics is that there is so little migration within the province. This result is due to the following facts: first, the people are mainly agriculturists and, as there is no excessive pressure on the soil and their crops are sure, they have no need to leave their villages: secondly, the tea and coal industries of the province are maintained by foreign labour, because the local people are too well off to work for hire, and hence they cause no movement of population within the province: lastly, even if the necessity for migration had existed, communications were so bad up to recent times that large movements would have been out of the question. By far the greatest part of the people born in other provinces come from

1. BORN IN ASSAM	875
(a) In district of enumeration ...	857
(b) In contiguous districts	15
(c) In other districts	3
2. BORN IN OTHER PROVINCES ...	118
(a) In contiguous parts	9
(b) In other parts	109
3. BORN OUTSIDE INDIA	7
Total	1,000

distant places: these are mainly the coolies which the tea gardens are compelled to import in the absence of a local supply of labour. As will be shown later, the majority of those born outside India come from the State of Nepal, which supplies most of the fighting strength of the province and a great part of its cattle graziers.

Extra-Provincial Immigration.

37. In Subsidiary Table I we find the immigrants divided into classes, according as they come from contiguous and non-contiguous districts of this province and of the neighbouring provinces of Bengal and Burma, from other provinces and from outside India. The number of immigrants from the border districts of Bengal and Burma is comparatively small, the figures in thousands being 99 for the province, of which 20 is confined to Goalpara in the Brahmaputra Valley, 33 to Sylhet in the Surma Valley, and 7 is divided between Garo Hills and Lushai Hills in the remaining natural division. The really important stream of immigration comes from more distant places, and is diverted almost entirely to the plains of the province, and more especially to the Brahmaputra Valley, which receives more than twice as many immigrants from other provinces as the Surma Valley. In order to gain a clear view of the places from which foreign immigrants come, it is necessary to glance at the statistics given in the margin, which show per mille the sources of immigration. Our largest supply comes from Bihar and Orissa, which is followed by Bengal, United Provinces, Central Provinces and Berar, and Madras. I propose to examine the figures of these provinces in more detail. It may be noted that immigrants from the Central Provinces, Madras and Central India are imported by the tea industry, and that those from Rajputana represent the Marwari merchants who practically have the monopoly of the trade of the province outside the district of Sylhet. The United Provinces people are mostly unassisted immigrants, though in the Surma Valley they form an important portion of the tea-garden labour force: with this exception they consist of carters and hucksters, cattle-dealers, earth-workers, fishermen and boatmen, cobblers and hide-dealers, police constables, and domestic servants: many of them have settled down, but probably most of them come under the heads of temporary and periodic or semi-permanent immigrants. I have noted for persons born outside India the large proportion who come from Nepal. The Brahmaputra Valley contains very large numbers of Nepalis, who are mostly engaged in breeding buffaloes and making *ghee*: they also do a certain amount of rather nomadic cultivation and work as sawyers in the Government forests: they are spreading into the hill districts, where they follow the same callings. Many of them are temporary or periodic visitors, but probably the majority are semi-permanent settlers verging towards permanency: there are twice as many men as women amongst the Nepalis censused in the province.

Immigrants per mille.

From—		
Bengal	...	220
Bihar and Orissa	...	453
Central Provinces	...	87
Madras	...	39
United Provinces	...	112
Rajputana	...	13
Central India	...	8
Rest of India	...	10
Outside India	...	58
(*Nepal*	...	*54*)
Total	...	1,000

The statistics of the five large provinces given above are shown in more detail in the margin, where those for Bengal and Bihar and Orissa are also divided according to the divisions of those two provinces.

Immigrants per mille of total :—

From		To Assam.	Brahmaputra Valley.	Surma Valley.	Hills.
1. BENGAL	...	220	138	72	10
(i) Burdwan	...	45	28	17	...
(ii) Presidency	...	8	5	2	1
(iii) Dacca	...	94	57	31	6
(iv) Rajshahi	...	47	44	1	2
(v) Chittagong	...	24	2	21	1
(vi) Unspecified	...	2	2	...	...
2. BIHAR AND ORISSA		453	365	84	3
(i) Bihar	...	132	96	34	2
(ii) Chota Nagpur	...	279	233	45	1
(iii) Orissa	...	42	36	6	...
3. CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR		87	63	24	...
4. UNITED PROVINCES		112	37	73	2
5. MADRAS	...	39	27	12	...

To begin with the neighbouring divisions of Bengal, Rajshahi, Chittagong, and Dacca, the majority of those born in the Rajshahi division were censused in Goalpara and represent settlers from Rangpur and Pabna; the latter, though not a contiguous district, has shared with Mymensingh the recent colonisation of the riverain lands of Goalpara: most of the people of the Chittagong division hail from Tippera and have settled in the neighbouring district of Sylhet: over 75 per cent. of the immigrants from the Dacca division were enumerated in Sylhet and Goalpara and more than two-thirds of them came from Mymensingh, so that they mostly represent inter-district movements of settlers; the rest, who are scattered over the province, are clerks and shop-keepers. Those who come from the Presidency division are found in small numbers in all the plains districts and are probably mostly clerks. The majority of those born in the Burdwan division come from Bankura and Midnapur and are most in evidence in the tea districts; they and those from Burdwan and Birbhum districts are mostly tea-garden coolies; the majority of the remainder are probably clerks.

Turning now to Bihar and Orissa we find that Chota Nagpur is responsible for the majority of the immigrants: this is accounted for by the large extent of garden coolie recruitment in this sub-province: the great majority go to the Brahmaputra Valley, where they are welcomed on account of their capability of withstanding hard work in the jungle and the effects of the climate. The figures for Orissa are explained in the same way. Bihar sends large numbers of more or less temporary settlers to Assam where they earn the money that pays their rents at home ; these people follow the same avocations as those practised by their neighbours from the United Provinces, which have been noted above. But two divisions, Patna and Bhagalpur, contain several districts which supply coolies to tea gardens: the majority of the people from Monghyr, Santhal Parganas and Gaya are garden coolies and are strongest in the tea districts.

The statistics of the remaining three provinces need not detain us long. Practically the whole of the immigrants from the Central Provinces and Madras are recruited for tea gardens and the major portion of them go to the Brahmaputra Valley: favourite districts of recruitment are in order Bilaspur (26,500), Jabalpur (15,000), Balaghat (7,000), Raipur (6,000), and Seoni (5,000). The Surma Valley gardens contain a large number (44,000) of United Provinces coolies, because they thrive there, while they have proved a failure in the Brahmaputra Valley for climatic reasons: the district from which most of the emigrants come is Ghazipur, which is claimed as their birth place by over 30,000 persons, of whom over 25,000 were censused in Cachar and Sylhet: Ghazipur is followed by Azamgarh (16,000), Ballia (9,000), Benares and Basti (6,000), and Mirzapur and Jaunpur (5,000).

It will be seen from the above that the tea industry is the main cause of the inflow of immigrants: it must not be forgotten that not alone does it import coolies, but it attracts large number of other immigrants whose sources of livelihood can be traced directly or indirectly to it, as for instance shop-keepers, hucksters, clerks, carters, and boatmen. In fact it is impossible to reckon how much of the immigration can be attributed to causes other than the tea industry. In Provincial Table IV will be found the birth places of persons actually enumerated in tea gardens by districts: the statistics include everyone found on tea-garden land on the Census night, but it may be taken that practically the whole number of those born outside the province were attracted by the industry: the wide range of the sources of immigration indicates the extent of the debt which the province owes to tea.

Colonisation by the tea Industry.

38. An attempt was made in the last Census Report roughly to estimate the actual number of the foreign born who were originally brought to the province as garden coolies; it is clear that the number of the latter will not represent the whole facts, for it leaves out of account the non-coolie immigrants whose presence is due to the same cause. It is equally clear that the number of the foreign born only will not help us very much towards an estimate of what the province owes to the industry, because there are large numbers of descendants of immigrants born in the province who now constitute part of the natural population. If we confine ourselves to an estimate of the number of coolies alone, we might include the total immigrants from Chota Nagpur, Orissa, Central Provinces, Madras and and Central India ; in consideration of the figures in Provincial Table IV, I estimate that one-half of the immigrants from Bihar and two-thirds of those from the United Provinces were imported by tea gardens; I would limit the coolies from Bengal to the four districts I have already mentioned. On this rough estimate the number of foreign-born coolies recruited for tea gardens comes to 570,000: this figure is much less than Mr. Allen's estimate in 1901, which was as much as 645,000, but I am inclined to think that he was not correct in attributing the whole of the immigration from the Burdwan, Patna and Bhagalpur divisions of Bengal and Bihar and from the United Provinces to direct garden recruitment. My estimate is perhaps rather conservative, but I am inclined to think that it is nearer the truth.

The number of the foreign-born coolies does not, as I have explained above, cover anything like the total number of the labour force, as will be seen from Provincial Table IV which shows that over 37 per cent. of the Indians censused on tea gardens were born in Assam. Besides these home-born labourers, who are the descendants of imported coolies, we have to reckon the vast number of ex-coolies and their descendants who have settled down all over the province and have cleared its jungle covered areas. The estimation of the number of these colonists is a most difficult task. In 1901 Mr. Allen made two attempts to do it: in paragraph 66 of his Census Report he gave an estimate based on the total village population born in the recruiting areas,

and in paragraph 200 he gave the village population of the castes usually found amongst tea coolies: the first estimate came to 121,368 and the second to 141,152 persons. These figures were subsequently examined by Mr. P. G. Melitus, C.S.I., C.I.E., late Member of the Board of Revenue, Eastern Bengal and Assam, who has an intimate acquaintance with local conditions. He pointed out that Mr. Allen's estimate was only a *minimum* and could not be taken as representing facts and Mr. Allen accepted this: he further showed it was impossible to find any exact criterion for estimating the actual number of the colonists who issued from tea gardens. It is obvious from what I have written that we cannot be sure of any calculation based on birth place: it is equally difficult to go on statistics of language, as will be clear from the contents of Chapter IX: the estimate by caste was not put forward as other than most indeterminate, for it is not feasible to distinguish between foreign and local castes with the same titles. It must also be remembered that the length of the period of colonisation and the gradual improvement of communications have made any calculation far more difficult at the present time: we are less sure than before of how the foreign population came to the province. I have discussed this question with Mr. Melitus, who was of opinion that no advantage would be gained by repeating the attempt at the present time, but referred to the strenuous efforts made last year to obtain correct statistics of the land held by ex-coolies as probably affording a fair method of attempting the calculation in the temporarily-settled districts. The Land Revenue Report for 1910-1911 shows that the total area of Government land held by time-expired coolies in the two valleys was 191,599 acres: Mr. Melitus estimated that amongst Assamese 75 acres would support 80 persons, but that, as new settlers would probably cultivate a smaller area and were not entirely dependent on their land, it might be taken in 1901 that 75 acres would support 100 foreigners; we must now allow for the fact that the latter have settled in greater numbers and cultivate more largely, and probably it would not be far from the truth if we allowed 90 colonists for 75 acres: this would give us 230,000 ex-coolies settled on Government land. This not improbably represents about two-thirds of the total number of colonists: large numbers hold land on leases from persons other than Government and large numbers are employed as cartmen, servants, labourers and petty traders. On this estimate the tea gardens have sent forth about 350,000 colonists. The actual population of the tea gardens is over 700,000, so that perhaps we should not err very greatly if we assume that the province owes the addition of well over a million of people directly to the tea industry. In addition to this we must reckon the large number who have been indirectly brought to Assam by the same cause; if we include their resident descendants, it would perhaps not be too much to place their number at half a million. The final result is that there are now 1½ millions of people in Assam, who would not have been here, if there had been no tea gardens. I do not put forward this estimate as anything but a rough calculation: I have been guided to a great extent by the estimates made by Mr. Melitus for the population of 1901, but it is not improbable that his unique acquaintance with Assam has given them a greater approach to accuracy than could be attained by following the methods adopted by my predecessors.

39. The amount of emigration from the province is small, as I have shown above: in Subsidiary Table II will be found details similar to those given in Subsidiary Table I for emigration. The majority of the emigrants to contiguous districts of other provinces come from Sylhet: the small number that have been enumerated in distant places come mainly from the Brahmaputra Valley. The statement in the margin shows the destinations of the emigrants from the province. Bengal absorbs over 844 per mille, of whom 310 went to neighbouring districts and 534 to more distant places: emigrants to Dacca, Mymensingh, Tippera and Hill Tippera account for the majority of those from the Surma Valley, while Jalpaiguri and Rangpur absorb most of the emigrants to contiguous districts from the Brahmaputra Valley, and Mymensingh receives most of those from Garo Hills. Of the more distant parts of Bengal Calcutta (4,986), Cooch Behar (3,293), and Howrah (432) returned the majority of the Assam born. Emigrants to Bihar and Orissa represent only 80 per mille of the total: the largest number come from Kamrup (1,531) which is followed in order by Sibsagar (1,163), Darrang (819), Lakhimpur (711), Nowgong (671), Sylhet (546), Cachar (497) and Goalpara (272). I do not understand the cause of the Kamrup figures, because

Extra-Provincial emigration.	
Total	79,717
(i) INDIA	79,193
Bengal	67,310
Bihar and Orissa ...	6,362
Burma	3,242
United Provinces ...	1,222
Madras	204
Central Provinces...	191
Punjab	175
Bombay	143
Andamans ...	140
Rajputana ...	111
Mysore	48
N.-W. Frontier Province.	21
Baluchistan ...	10
Central India ...	8
Hyderabad ...	6
Sikkim	1
(ii) OUTSIDE INDIA...	524

its tea gardens are not of much importance: the emigrants from the other districts are probably children of immigrants who have returned permanently or temporarily; probably tea-garden sirdars deputed to the recruiting districts account for most of them. But the amount of emigration to this and the other provinces is unimportant and does not require detailed consideration. I may note that the 524 emigrants outside India were enumerated in Colombo harbour on vessels arriving after the census, and that 511 of them, who came from Sylhet, are no doubt part of the engine-room staff on board liners on the Calcutta-London route.

Intra-Provincial emigration.

40. Subsidiary Table IV shows the actual numbers in round thousands of those born in one natural division of the province and enumerated in another. Out of 632 immigrants to the Brahmaputra Valley only 15 came from other natural divisions; similarly out of 246 in the Surma Valley only 5 came from within the province, while the number of provincial immigrants in the Hills is 13 out of 37. It is obvious that these movements are negligible at present: I have already explained the causes of this result in paragraph 36 above. The slight variations between now and 1901 do not call for any special note.

General results.

41. Subsidiary Table III gives proportional figures showing the results of migration for each district in the province: the actual figures of immigrants and emigrants have already been shown in Subsidiary Table II of the last chapter. It is clear that, if we exclude the Hills, which are not important from our present point of view, most of the immigrants come from distant places and most of the emigrants really only cross the boundary between neighbouring districts. The proportions of the sexes given in Subsidiary Table III for the two valleys are remarkable for the fact that females appear in large numbers both in what I may call contiguous immigration and in distant immigration: this result naturally follows in the former, which represents permanent transfer of settlers, and that it appears in the latter is due to the fact that women are as much required as men for the tea gardens, partly because they are the superior sex at plucking the leaf, and partly because they are desirable for the purposes of reproduction, which adds to the labour force without the cost of recruitment. In the Hills, on the other hand, women from distant places are much less numerous than those from contiguous districts. But amongst the emigrants to distant places women are everywhere few, except in the case of Cachar, where the small number of emigrants are probably permanent settlers, and of the Khasi Hills which sends out a number of children's ayahs all over the province.

The provincial balance of account with other provinces, which is given in Subsidiary Table V, shows the enormous profit which accrues to Assam from immigration and the growth of this profit in comparison with 1901: the balance in favour of Assam is now 7½ per cent. larger than it was ten years ago. The only places which show a falling off are the United Provinces and Punjab: the decrease in the latter is due to the employment in 1901 of large numbers of Punjabis on railway construction, which is also responsible in great measure for the decline in the former, but the district figures show that United Provinces people are now less numerous in all the tea districts, though they have increased in the others, and the result is probably due in part to the superiority of coolies from other places for tea-garden work. It was intended that Subsidiary Table V should show the variations for British territory and for States, but separate statistics for 1901 were not available: I have accordingly shown the detailed figures for 1911 in the second part of the Table. The only serious loss to the province arises from the proximity of the Hill Tippera State to the Sylhet border: the figures show that there is an excess of nearly 29,000 emigrants, but besides this considerable numbers of tea-garden coolies are attracted over the border who will appear in the State Census as born in other parts of India.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Immigration (actual figures).

District and natural division where enumerated.	Born in (000's omitted).																	
	District (or natural division).			Contiguous district in province.			Other parts of province.			Contiguous parts of other provinces, etc.			Non-contiguous parts of other provinces, etc.			Outside India.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
ASSAM ...	6,178	3,139	3,039	...	...	...	...	...	...	99	54	45	732	410	322	51	35	16
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	2,477	1,264	1,213	12	7	5	3	2	1	20	11	9	556	313	243	41	27	14
Goalpara ...	482	245	237	6	4	2	1	1	...	19	10	9	87	55	32	6	4	2
Kamrup ...	636	317	319	6	4	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	20	15	5	5	3	2
Darrang ...	256	131	125	14	8	6	2	1	1	...	...	...	92	50	42	14	8	6
Nowgong ...	265	132	133	6	4	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	30	17	13	2	1	1
Sibsagar ...	507	263	244	17	10	7	6	5	1	...	...	...	156	84	72	4	3	1
Lakhimpur ...	272	139	133	10	6	4	5	4	1	...	...	...	173	94	79	10	7	3
SURMA VALLEY ...	2,724	1,395	1,329	3	2	1	1	1	...	32	16	16	207	113	94	2	2	...
Cachar (including North Cachar).	387	197	190	27	18	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	82	44	38	1	1	...
Sylhet	2,309	1,179	1,130	5	3	2	1	1	...	33	17	16	124	68	56	1	1	...
HILLS	944	460	484	12	7	5	...	...	...	7	4	3	9	7	2	8	6	2
Garo Hills ...	146	74	72	5	3	2	...	...	...	5	3	2	1	1	...	1	1	...
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	224	106	118	4	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	3	1	3	2	1
North Cachar ...	Separate figures not available.																	
Naga Hills ...	146	72	74	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	1	...
Manipur ...	338	166	172	5	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	1	1	...
Lushai Hills ...	84	39	45	2	1	1	...	...	...	3	1	2	1	1	...	1	1	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Emigration (actual figures).

District and natural division of birth.	Enumerated in (000's omitted).																	
	District (or natural division).			Contiguous district in province.			Other parts of province.			Contiguous parts of other provinces, etc.			Non-contiguous parts of other provinces, etc.			Outside India.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
ASSAM	6,178	3,139	3,039	...	...	...	...	...	...	56	29	27	24	19	5	1	1	...
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	2,477	1,264	1,213	8	5	3	1	1	...	2	1	1	15	11	4	...	..	...
Goalpara ...	482	245	237	8	5	3	4	3	1	4	2	2	1	1	...	...	...	...
Kamrup ...	636	317	319	12	8	4	6	6	...	...	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	...
Darrang ...	256	131	125	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
Nowgong ...	265	132	133	13	7	6	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	...
Sibsagar ...	507	263	244	12	7	5	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
Lakhimpur ...	272	139	133	6	3	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	...
SURMA VALLEY ...	2,724	1,395	1,329	6	4	2	2	2	...	47	24	23	9	7	2	1	1	...
Cachar (including North Cachar).	387	197	190	8	5	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	...
Sylhet	2,309	1,179	1,130	26	18	8	2	2	...	46	23	23	8	7	1	1	1	...
HILLS	944	460	484	14	8	6	...	...	...	2	1	1	5	4	1	...	...	...
Garo Hills ...	146	74	72	3	2	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	224	106	118	3	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
North Cachar ...	Separate figures not available.																	
Naga Hills ...	146	72	74	8	5	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
Manipur ...	338	166	172	3	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	3	2	1	..	...	..
Lushai Hills ...	84	39	45	3	1	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	..

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Proportional migration to and from each district.

District and natural divisions.	Number per mille of actual population of						Number of females to 100 males amongst			
	Immigrants.			Emigrants.			Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Total.	From contiguous districts.	From other places.	Total.	To contiguous districts.	To other places.	From contiguous districts	From other places.	To contiguous districts.	To other places.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM	125	14	111	11	8	3	82	76	91	23
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	203	10	193	8	3	5	75	75	63	34
Goalpara	197	41	156	30	21	9	78	56	78	32
Kamrup	47	9	38	34	18	16	71	38	41	12
Darrang	321	38	283	12	7	5	65	81	85	28
Nowgong	128	18	110	50	43	7	58	69	92	38
Sibsagar	265	25	240	22	17	5	78	81	74	25
Lakhimpur	421	21	400	19	13	6	70	80	79	36
SURMA VALLEY	83	12	71	22	18	4	92	82	92	25
Cachar	222	53	169	21	16	5	46	85	77	70
Sylhet	66	15	51	33	29	4	90	81	75	22
HILLS	37	20	17	21	17	4	73	32	67	23
Garo Hills	81	65	16	23	21	2	82	38	72	51
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	49	18	31	15	11	4	59	30	66	66
Naga Hills	24	10	14	58	52	6	73	27	74	17
Manipur...	23	13	10	18	10	8	88	33	58	17
Lushai Hills	77	52	25	55	50	5	93	21	105	6

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Migration between natural divisions (actual figures) compared with 1901.

Natural divisions in which born.		Number enumerated (000's omitted) in natural divisions.			
		Brahmaputra Valley.	Surma Valley.	Hills.	Total.
1		2	3	4	5
Total ...	1911 ...	632	246	37	...
	1901 ...	491	287	32	...
Brahmaputra Valley ...	1911 ...	...	1	8	9
	1901 ...	...	1	10	11
Surma Valley	1911 ...	3	...	5	8
	1901 ...	2	...	4	6
Hills	1911 ...	12	3	...	15
	1901 ...	14	3	...	17
Assam, unspecified ...	1911 ...	...	1	...	1
	1901 ...	...	...	...	...
Outside the province ...	1911 ...	617	241	24	882
	1901 ...	475	283	18	776

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Migration between the Province and other parts of India.

PART I.

Province or State.	Immigrants to Assam.			Emigrants from Assam.			Excess (+) or deficiency (—) of immigration over emigration.	
	1911.	1901.	Variation.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
TOTAL	831,118	750,809	+80,309	79,193	51,317	+27,876	+751,925	+699,492
Ajmer-Merwara	46	194	—148	...	18	...	...	+176
Andamans and Nicobars	6	...	...	140	...	...	—134	...
Baluchistan	207	655	—448	10	...	...	+197	...
Bengal	193,875	132,697	+61,178	67,310	48,295	+19,015	+126,565	+84,402
Bihar and Orissa	399,367	380,616	+18,751	6,362	4	+6,358	+393,005	+380,612
Bombay	2,563	1,420	+1,143	143	54	+89	+2,420	+1,366
Burma	2,299	1,666	+633	3,242	1,652	+1,590	—943	+14
Central India Agency	7,104	12,161	—5,057	8	...	...	+7,096	+12,161
Central Provinces and Berar ...	77,021	74,787	+2,234	191	197	—6	+76,830	+74,590
Coorg	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Hyderabad State	119	151	—32	5	...	...	+114	...
Kashmir State	19	68	—49	...	...	...	...	
Madras (including Cochin and Travancore).	34,530	21,571	+12,959	204	155	+49	+34,326	+21,416
Mysore State	141	170	—29	48	...	...	+93	...
North-Western Frontier Province ...	109	6,265	—2,661	21	103	+93	+88	+6,162
Punjab	3,495			175			+3,320	
Rajputana Agency	11,620	9,336	+2,284	111	8	+103	+11,509	+9,328
Sikkim	52	4	+48	1	...	...	+51	...
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh ...	98,432	108,900	—10,468	1,222	830	+392	+97,210	+108,070
French and Portuguese Settlements ...	36	2	+34	...	...	...	...	...
India, unspecified	75	146	—71	...	...	...	...	

PART II.

Province or State.	Immigrants to Assam in 1911.			Emigrants from Assam in 1911.			Excess (+) or deficiency (—) of immigration over emigration, 1911.		
	(i) Total.	(ii) British territory.	(iii) Manipur State.	(i) Total.	(ii) British territory.	(iii) Manipur State.	(i) Total.	(ii) British territory.	(iii) Manipur State.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
TOTAL	831,118	829,081	2,037	79,193	76,496	2,697	+751,925	+752,585	—660
BRITISH TERRITORY ...	797,219	795,387	1,832	48,080	45,496	2,584	+749,139	+749,891	—752
Ajmer-Merwara ...	46	46	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Andamans and Nicobars (Port Blair).	6	6	...	140	110	30	—134	—104	...
Baluchistan (administered territories).	190	190	...	10	10	...	+180	+180	...
Bengal	191,912	191,612	300	36,490	36,376	114	+155,422	+155,236	+186
Bihar and Orissa ...	393,201	392,698	503	6,335	6,303	32	+386,866	+386,395	+471
Bombay (including Aden)	853	841	12	142	108	34	+711	+733	—22
Burma	2,299	2,251	48	3,242	1,124	2,118	—943	+1,127	—2,070
Central Provinces and Berar	72,491	72,471	20	186	146	40	+72,305	+72,325	—20
Coorg	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madras (including Laccadives)	34,507	34,497	10	204	204	...	+34,303	+34,293	...
North-West Frontier Province (districts and administered territories).	91	86	5	20	10	10	+71	+76	—5
Punjab	3,306	2,859	447	147	117	30	+3,159	+2,742	+417
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	98,315	97,828	487	1,164	983	176	+97,151	+96,840	+311
FEUDATORY STATES ...	33,788	33,583	205	31,113	31,000	113	+2,675	+2,583	+92
Baluchistan (Agency Tracts)	17	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bengal States... ...	1,963	1,963	...	30,890	30,713	107	—28,857	—28,750	...
Bihar and Orissa States ...	6,166	6,166	...	27	27	...	+6,139	+6,139	...
Bombay States... ...	1,710	1,703	7	1	...	1	+1,709	...	+6
Central India Agency ...	7,104	7,102	2	8	8	...	+7,096	+7,094	...
Central Provinces States...	4,530	4,530	...	5	5	...	+4,525	+4,525	...
Hyderabad State ...	119	119	...	5	5	...	+114	+114	...
Kashmir State... ...	19	18	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madras States (including Cochin and Travancore.)	23	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mysore State	141	140	1	48	48	...	+93	+92	...
North-West Frontier Province (Agencies and tribal areas).	18	18	...	1	1	...	+17	+17	...
Punjab States... ...	189	114	75	28	27	1	+161	+87	+74
Rajputana Agency ...	11,620	11,505	115	111	108	3	+11,509	+11,397	+112
Sikkim	52	49	3	1	...	1	+51	...	+2
United Provinces States...	117	116	1	58	58	...	+59	+53	...
FRENCH AND PORTUGESE SETTLEMENTS.	36	36	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
INDIA, UNSPECIFIED ...	75	75	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION.

Introductory.

42. This chapter is divided into two parts, of which the first deals with the statistics, and the second contains some general information regarding Hindus, which is intended to be an addition to that given in the last Census Report.

The statistics are contained in Imperial Tables VI, XVII, and XVIII, of which the first shows all the religions by districts, and the latter two deal with Christians only, Table XVII containing the territorial distribution of the Christian population by sect and race, and Table XVIII showing non-Indian Christians by race and age. Besides these, there are six subsidiary tables attached to this chapter, showing (I) the general distribution of the population by religion, (II) the distribution by districts of the main religions, (III) the number and variations of Christians, (IV) the actual numbers of the races and sects of Christians, (V) the distribution of Christians, (*a*) races by sect, (*b*) sects by race, and (VI) the religions of the urban and the rural population.

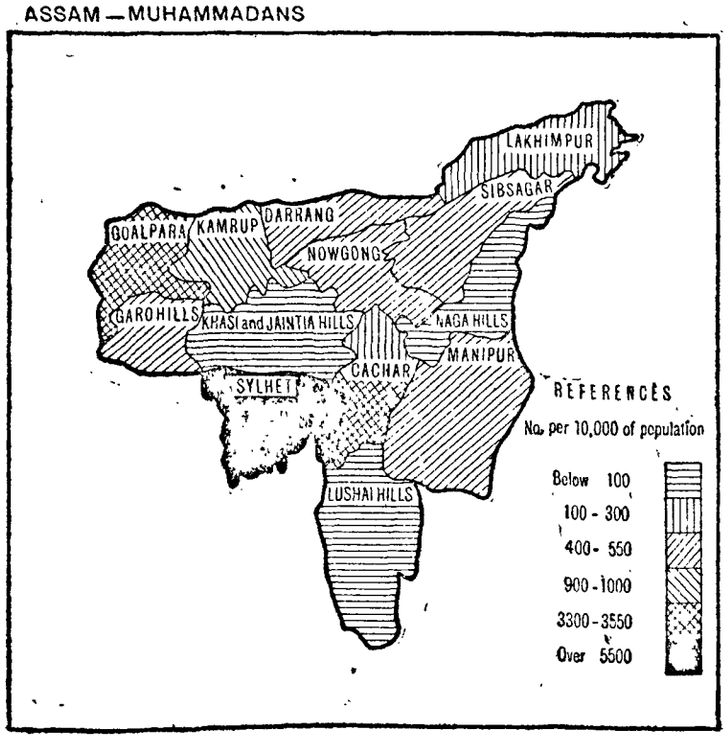
No attempt was made to alter the returns in the census schedules; the number of the adherents of each religion as given, therefore, by the people themselves is shown in the margin. More than half are Hindus, a little more than a quarter are Muhammadans, and less than one-fifth are Animists. As there will be something more to say about Hindus than about the others, I propose to leave them until the last and to treat the rest in the order of their numerical importance.

Hindu	3,838,769
Brahmo	428
Sikh	757
Jain	2,508
Buddhist	10,513
Musalman	1,901,032
Christian	66,562
Animist	1,239,280
Minor	8
Total ...	7,059,857

Muhammadans.

43. Muhammadans constitute more than half the population of the Surma Valley, about one-ninth of the Brahmaputra Valley, and are a negligible quantity in the Hills. This distribution is due to historical causes; Sylhet was conquered by the Muhammadans in the fourteenth century and the people took to the religion of their rulers just as did their neighbours in the east of Bengal: the colonisation of Cachar by the overflow from Sylhet accounts for the large number of Muhammadans in that district. In the Brahmaputra Valley the Muhammadan population is mainly descended from the survivors of the army of Turbuk, who invaded Assam in the thirteenth century, but in the towns includes also a considerable number of Dacca shopkeepers: it is only in Goalpara, which borders on the Muhammadan districts of Rangpur and Mymensingh in Bengal, that the followers of the Prophet are found in any considerable number; this fact is mainly due to immigration from over the border. In the whole province Muhammadans have increased by 20·2 per cent. since 1901, the contribution of the Brahmaputra Valley being no less than 42·8, while that of the Surma Valley is 16·3. The former rapid rate is due to the large immigration of Muhammadans

ASSAM—MUHAMMADANS



from Bengal to Goalpara: the latter rate is higher than the rate of increase amongst the general population, which is 10·77, and is due to the fact that the Muhammadans are more prolific than their neighbours because of their partaking of more sustaining food and their freedom from prejudice on the question of the marriage of widows. It is doubtful if any appreciable part of the increase is due to conversions. The reasons given for the distribution and the progress in growth of the Muhammadan community were treated so fully in the last Census Report that it is unnecessary to refer to them in greater detail. It may be noted that the large immigration which the province owes to the tea industry does not affect the increase of Muhammadans, who are rarely found as coolies on tea estates and in the upper Brahmaputra districts, which owe so much to immigration, are doing little more than holding their own: in Lakhimpur their percentage of the total population has actually declined, though their absolute numbers show an increase.

Animists.

44. Those who had no recognised religion were shown in column of the schedule for religion under the name of their tribe. Large numbers of such people have already been converted to Hinduism and many of them now are so near the border line that it is difficult to say what they are. The questions as to who were Hindus and who were not was raised in 1910 by a circular of the Census Commissioner and was publicly discussed in the newspapers; the general effect of this was that Charge Superintendents, at least, were enlightened as to the points in dispute and, when the discussion was ended by the announcement that it had never been intended to class religions otherwise than as they were returned by the people themselves, the result on the whole was that there was a greater tendency to be accurate and in fact to carry out the orders as they were originally issued.

The basis of the form of belief known as Animism is fear. Animism has been described as—

> in some sort the philosophy of the uncivilised man in virtue of which he constructs for himself a picture of the world so far as has an interest in it. It is occupied with the soul of the living man as well as with the souls of living creatures, organisms, and even lifeless objects to which it likewise ascribes a soul or, to speak more correctly, soul-stuff. This soul-stuff becomes the object of worship. From a universal soul, an indestructable store of life, living souls flow to men, animals, plants, metals, instruments, houses, etc. Whatever participates in this life-stuff is valuable and desirable. The question for the Animist is how to place his own soul in relation to the souls surrounding him, and to their powers, which are partly injurious and partly useful, with as little danger to himself and as much advantage to himself as possible. 'What must I do to protect and to enrich my soul?' That is the critical question of the Animistic catechism. Animism is the key to an understanding of ancestor worship and of all that is commonly called heathen superstition . . . . . The worship of spirits is reared on the basis of Animism . . . . and has to do with demons and ancestors, ... for the spirits of the dead in their malicious doings are scarcely distinguishable from the demons . . . . Earth, air and water are supposed to be peopled with spirits. They are most numerous in the forest and in the waste fields, where they lie in wait for the living and afflict them with disease and madness or drag them away to an awful death. They prowl round the houses at night, they spy through the crevices of the partitions, or come into the house in the form of some man or beast. . . . The number of dangerous spirits to which human misery is traced back is legion. Warneck's *The Living Forces of the Gospel*, pp. 40, 63, 68.

The propitiation of these evil spirits practically forms the whole religion of the primitive man. He has, it is true, vague ideas of the existence of a good-natured deity, but unfortunately the latter either has no power or does not care to restrain the mischief of the spirits and consequently receives no prayers or worship. The actual details of the beliefs of the Animists of this province are contained in the series of ethnological monographs on different tribes which have been published by the orders of Government under the general control of Lieutenant-Colonel Gurdon, C.S.I., Superintendent of Ethnography; consequently, it is unnecessary for me to discuss them further.

45. As might be expected, Animists are found mainly in the Hills, where they constitute over two-thirds of the population : they also exist along the edges of the Brahmaputra Valley, where their number is not very much less than that found in the Hills and is equivalent to over 17 per cent. of the inhabitants. In the Surma Valley they are insignificant and are slightly more numerous in the plains of Cachar than in Sylhet. In the Naga and Lushai Hills over nine-tenths of the people still cling to their primitive ideas, and even in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where Christianity has made such strides, over four-fifths of the people are still unconverted. In North Cachar and Manipur Animists constitute less than half the population owing to the spread of Hinduism.

Since the last census Animists have increased in the province by 16 per cent. or nearly one per cent. more than the growth of the general population ; the rates of increase in the Brahmaputra Valley and the Hills are almost equal, but there has been a decline of nearly one-fifth in the Surma Valley. The increase in the Brahmaputra Valley is slightly above that of the general population and has been gained to a certain extent by immigration, but more by greater accuracy in the record of religions : in Darrang the number of Animists has grown by 38 per cent., in Sibsagar by nearly 42 per cent. and in Lakhimpur by nearly 327 per cent.; in Nowgong, where there is not much immigration, Animists are now over 35 per cent. more numerous than they were 10 years ago, though the general population grew by only 16 per cent.; in Kamrup, however, though the growth in the total population was over 13 per cent., Animists have increased by less than 12 per cent. and the difference is probably due to conversions to Hinduism. There is an extraordinary decrease in Goalpara where there are only 47,339 Animists against 125,618 at the last census, and the proportion per 10,000 of the population has fallen from 2,719 to 788; this decrease is due to the conversion by one Sib Narayan Swami* of large numbers of Meches to what they style the Brahma religion, which has nothing to do with Brahmo Somaj, but apparently purports to be a form of the Vedic Hinduism. In all the hill districts except North Cachar and Manipur the proportion of Animists has declined : in North Cachar the presence of large numbers of Pathans on railway construction gave a temporary importance to the Muhammadan population in 1901, and the slight proportional increase in Manipur is due to a more accurate census in the hills of the State. The population of the Hills has grown by 18·5 per cent., but the increase in Animists is only 17·6 : the spread of Christianity is responsible for a great part of the difference.

Christians.

46. Though the rate of growth of Christianity since 1901 is less than that at the last two censuses, it is no less than 85 per cent. and there are now over eight times the number of Christians that there were thirty years ago. Success is usually obtained amongst Animistic tribes who have not yet felt the attraction of Hinduism. The percentage of increase in the Brahmaputra Valley is nearly 70, in the Surma Valley 54·6, and in the Hills 96·2. The community is strongest in the latter division, where there are 423 Christians in every 10,000 of the population and is lowest in the Surma Valley, where the proportion is only 9, while in the Brahmaputra Valley it is 68 : in the province as a whole the number per 10,000 is only 94 against 59 in 1901 and 31 in 1891. Subsidiary Table III gives the actual number in each district and the variations since 1881. A little less than half the total number is confined to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where there are now 31,257 Christians. In the Hills as a whole there are twice as many as there are in the Brahmaputra Valley, and the number in the Surma Valley is insignificant.

* He was an up-country Brahman who preached a form of Vedic Hinduism in many parts of India and in his later days in Calcutta : he was received with favour by the Rajbansis zemindar of Goalpara and through them about ten years ago he got into touch with the Meches.

The greatest increase was in the Lushai Hills, where there are now 2,461 against 45 ten years ago, and the next in the Naga Hills, which now contain 3,308 : in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills the increase has been over 80 per cent. in spite of the previous large number, and in the Garo Hills the number has nearly doubled. In the Brahmaputra Valley the only districts with over 5,000 Christians are Sibsagar and Goalpara, where the rates of increase are 117 and 59 per cent. respectively : the lowest percentage was nearly 41 in Nowgong. In Sylhet, though the total is small, the number of Christians doubled since 1901. These figures show wonderful progress.

47. Subsidiary Table IV shows the actual numbers of Christians by sect and race, which are distributed per mille in Subsidiary Table V. The largest sect is the Presbyterian, which is represented by the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist mission of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and the next the Baptist : these two communities include between them four-fifths of the Christians of the province : the Anglican Communion, the Lutherans, and the Roman Catholics practically make up the remainder. Two-thirds of the Europeans are members of the Anglican Communion and Anglo-Indians are fairly divided between that and Roman Catholicism, but there is little doubt that numbers of Anglo-Indians returned themselves as Europeans in spite of the abolition of the name of Eurasian. The distribution of Europeans by sect is very similar to that at the last census, but the number of Anglo-Indians has increased, especially the Roman Catholics. Indian Christians constitute 959 to every 1,000 and nearly half of them are Presbyterians and over one-third are Baptists, so that, practically speaking, the remaining sects are not worth much consideration : it may, however, be noted that out of every 1,000 Indian Christians 59 are Lutherans, 53 are Anglicans, and 38 are Roman Catholics.

48. The most successful Christian mission is that of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, which has its headquarters in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and small branches in the Lushai Hills, Cachar, and Sylhet, where its efforts are mainly confined to the Namasudra caste. The next in importance is the American Baptist mission, which works in all the districts of the Brahmaputra Valley except Darrang, in the Naga Hills, Garo Hills, Khasi Hills, and Manipur. The German Evangelical Lutheran (Gossner's) mission has branches in Kamrup, Sibsagar, and Lakhimpur. The Society for Propagation of the Gospel works in Cachar, Darrang, and Sibsagar. Roman Catholics have missions in Sylhet, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Kamrup and Lakhimpur. Besides the above, there are the following in individual districts :—Free Church of Scotland Santhal Mission and American Presbyterians in Sylhet, Church of God (American) Mission in the Khasi Hills, the Baptist Missionary Society and the Lakher Pioneer Congregationalist Mission in the Lushai Hills, the Indian Home Mission to the Santhals (Lutheran Church of Denmark) in Goalpara, the Church Missionary Society and Canadian Independent Baptist Mission in Lakhimpur. Briefly, in the hills these missions work amongst the Animistic tribes and in the plains are mostly concerned with the aboriginal importations to the tea gardens : in the Brahmaputra Valley efforts are made to attract the local Animists also, *e.g.*, the Mikirs of Nowgong, the Kacharis of Darrang, and the Rabhas of Goalpara, but without any great success at present, except perhaps amongst the Mikirs. The fact that large numbers of tea coolies come from Chota Nagpur, where there is much missionary enterprise, is probably one reason for the general direction of the work in the plains : for example, the German Lutheran Mission came from Chota Nagpur to look after its emigrant converts. Converts usually consist of isolated individuals. No material inducements are offered and the main desire of the Animists seems to be freedom from the terrors amidst which they live, but there is no doubt that they are influenced by the care and attention which the Christians receive from the missionaries and by the education which is imparted in mission schools. The most striking example of the spread of education is in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where it is not too much to say that the Welsh Mission has revolutionised the district ; and in the hill districts generally a good deal of education is done. In the plains schools are too common to be a source of attraction and work is mostly confined to preaching and visiting.

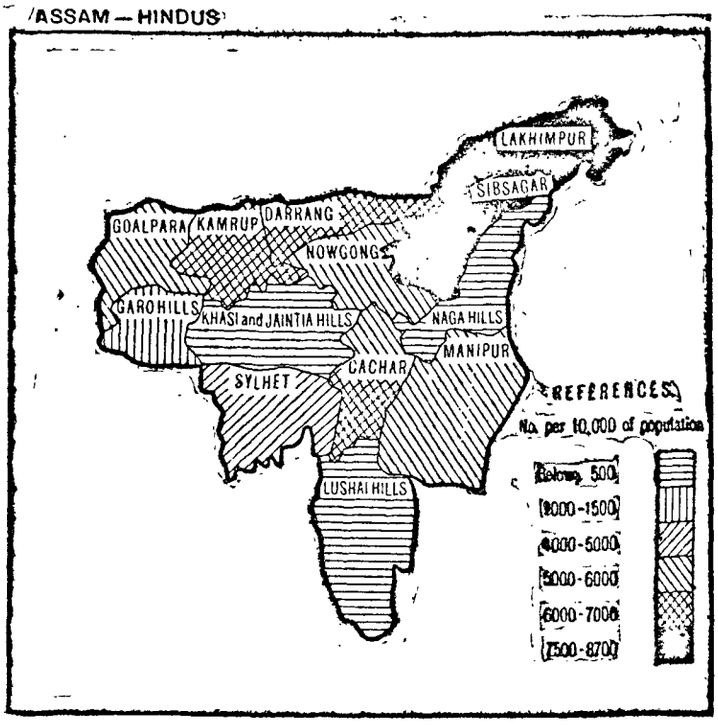
Minor religions.

49. As the numbers are small, I place together Brahmos, Sikhs, Jains, and Buddhists. The Brahmos are strongest in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where no doubt the presence of the Government offices contributed largely to their increase from 73 to 252 : indeed their number has declined in every district except this and Goalpara, where there has been a small increase : it is only amongst the educated classes that the Brahmo Somaj obtained adherents, and it would appear from enquiries that greater laxity in caste

matters has weakened the tendency to desert orthodoxy. Sikhs are still most numerous in Nowgong, where they are mostly employed on the railway at Lumding. The Marwaris, who have the monopoly of trade in the Brahmaputra Valley, are responsible for the fact that over four-fifths of the Jains are found there. Over half of the Buddhists were censused in Lakhimpur and about one-fifth in Sibsagar : in both districts they are old Burmese immigrants, who live near the frontier: in the rest of the Brahmaputra Valley they are Bhutia traders who had not returned to the hills before the census day : their number elsewhere is negligible.

Hindus.

50. I have left Hindus to the last, though they are the largest community in the province, for the reason given at the beginning of this chapter. They form over 70 per cent. of the population of the Brahmaputra Valley, 47 per cent. of that of the Surma Valley, and one-quarter of that of the Hills. The difference between the two valleys is due to the former conversion of the greater part of the people of the Surma Valley to Muhammadanism. In the Hills more than half the population are Hindus in North Cachar and Manipur, but in the other districts their numbers are small. The number of Hindus has grown by 11·9 per cent. since 1901 or 3·3 per cent. less than that of the general population, and they have fallen back in comparison with Muhammadans, Animists, and Christians. In the province as a whole there are now 54 Hindus to 27 Muhammadans, while 10 years ago there were 56 Hindus to 26 Muhammadans; the causes of the relatively greater progress amongst the latter have been referred to above. In the Brahmaputra Valley and in the Hills the rate of increase, though about 3 per cent. less than that of the population as a whole, is nearly 16 per cent., but in the Surma Valley it is only 5·7 per cent., as it was in 1901. Turning to individual districts, we see that in every district of the Brahmaputra Valley except Goalpara the proportion of Hindus has fallen owing to the increase of Animists and, to a small extent, of Muhammadans: the figures of Goalpara have been explained above in connection with the decrease of Animists in that district. The same phenomenon appears in the Surma Valley, where it is due entirely to the expansion of the Muhammadans. In the Hills the proportion of Hindus has grown in the Garo Hills, which contains two plains mauzas, and in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where the presence in Shillong of Government clerks is the main cause, but has fallen in all the other districts : the decrease is due to adventitious causes in North Cachar, where the building of the railway attracted outsiders in 1901, and to a certain extent in the Naga Hills, where the military strength has been reduced, but there has also been a development of Christianity : in Manipur the more accurate census of the hilly tracts has increased the proportion of Animists, and in the Lushai Hills conversions to Christianity have brought down the proportion of Hindus.



What is a Hindu?

51. The circular of the Census Commissioner referred to above raised the question of the criterion by which a Hindu is identified as such. The opinions received were so divergent even regarding the ideas connoted by the word 'Hindu' that a discussion of them would be to little purpose. Sir Alfred Lyall in delivering the Rede Lecture at Cambridge in 1881 said :—

If I were asked for a definition of Hinduism, I could give no precise answer; I could not define it concisely by giving its central doctrines and its essential articles of faith; as I might do in describing one of the great historical religions. For the word Hindu is not exclusively a religious denomination ; it denotes also a country, and to a certain degree a race. When we speak of a

Christian, a Mahomedan, or a Buddhist, we mean a particular religious community, in the widest sense without distinction of race or place. When we talk of a Russian or a Persian, we indicate country or parentage without distinction of creed. But when a man tells me that he is a Hindu, I know that he means all three things together—Religion, Parentage, and Country. I can be almost sure that he is an inhabitant of India, I know that he is an Indian by birth and descent; and as to his religion, the word Hindu, though it is rather indefinite, undoubtedly places him within one of the many groups or castes that follow the ordinances and worship the gods who are recognised by the Brahmans.

The essential point of this description lies in the last few lines; in order, however, to show how widely it may be interpreted, enquiries were made as to what castes and tribes returned as Hindus and contributing more than 1 per mille of population do not conform to certain standards or are subject to certain restrictions: it is probable that the list is not exhaustive, but so far as it goes, it will afford material for such conclusions as the reader may care to make:—

I. Castes which deny the supremacy of the Brahmans.	1. Jugi ...	91,135	In Surma Valley only.
	2. Baishnab or Bairagi...	11,344	Sangjogi sect; number unknown.
	3. Matak	9,242	
	4. Mahapurushia ...	500,000	In theory, but not now apparently in practice, a sect numbering probably 500,000.
	5. Ratikhoa ...	...	A sect, number unknown.
II. Castes which do not receive the *mantra* from a Brahman or other recognised Hindu *guru*.	1. Muchi	13,644	
	2. Chamar ...	54,234	
III. Castes which are not served by good Brahmans as family priests.	*I. In the Surma Valley*—all except Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaidyas, Kayasthas, Sudras, and the Navasaks.	1,030,322	
	II. In the Brahmaputra Valley—		
	1. Ahom	197,340	
	2. Boria	21,495	
	3. Brittial Baniya ...	9,080	
	4. Chutia	85,358	
	5. Hira	16,348	
	6. Jugi	77,880	
	7. Keot	45,000	Only the Jaliya section of the Keot caste: number estimated.
	8. Koch (Saru) ...	50,000	Number estimated
	9. Nadiyal ...	68,323	
	10. Nama sudra ...	19,756	
	11. Rajbansi ...	131,648	
	12. Saha	17,114	
	13. Sarania ...	12,222	
IV Castes which have no Brahman priests at all.	1. Jugi	169,097	
	2. Matak	9,242	
	3. Brittial Baniya ...	9,084	
	4. Muchi	13,644	
	5. Chamar... ...	54,234	

VI. Castes which cause pollution by touch.	1. Muchi	13,644	
	2. Chamar ...	54,234	
	3. Dhoba	33,855	
	4. Dom	29,456	
VII. Castes which bury their dead.	1. Jugi	150,000	In Brahmaputra Valley only the Kanikuria Jogis: number estimated.
	2. Bairagi	11,344	
	3. Chamar... ...	54,234	

In the Brahmaputra Valley it is hard to say when the new converts definitely become Hindus, especially as many of them cling to their old habits of eating and drinking. I remember meeting some Miris in the east of Darrang, who told me that they continued to eat fowls and to drink liquor, though they had come under the tutelage of a Gossain, but were careful to avoid these infringements of his precepts in his presence : when I questioned them as to why they became *bhakats* of a Hindu Gossain if they did not obey him in matters of food and drink, they said that they were strangers in a strange land, and unless they made some arrangement with the gods of the place or their representative, there was no knowing what evils might befall them : hence they placed themselves under the care of the Gossain and paid him his annual fee in order to be on the safe side. No doubt in a few generations these people will have attained recognition as orthodox Hindus, but it is impossible to define the border line which they must cross. Amongst such people as these the missionary efforts of the Vaishnava Gossains of the Brahmaputra Valley have been very successful, but this subject has been treated so fully in the Census Reports of 1891 and 1901 that it is unnecessary to do more than mention it here.

Sankar Deb and Chaitanya.

52. One point in connection with the Vaishnavism of Assam is worth considering, *i.e.*, whether Sankar Deb, its founder, drew inspiration from Chaitanya, the great reformer of Bengal, as is stated in the last two Census Reports of Assam. The Society for the Improvement of the Assamese Language, Gauhati, has taken up the question and strongly objects to the accounts hitherto given. It claims that Sankar Deb was antecedent to Chaitanya in his birth and reforms. The four extant biographies of Sankar Deb place his birth in the year 1371 Sâk (1449 A. D.), whereas Chaitanya was born in 1407 Sâk and was 36 years younger. But as Sankar Deb is said to have lived 120 years, it has been assumed that either the date of his birth or that of his death is wrong. It is claimed that there is evidence that Sankar Deb began preaching first. It is stated by Gunabhiram that the Baro Bhuinyas under Sankar Deb were subdued by the Ahoms in 1427 Sâk, though Tamuli Phukan omits to mention Sankar Deb in this connection. The accuracy of the latter's dates is apparently beyond dispute, and his omission of the name of Sankar Deb is attributed to the fact that he was a Sákta and consequently refused to consider a Sudra like Sankar Deb a great man. There is little doubt that the Brahman influence, which soon divided the Vaishnavas of the Brahmaputra Valley into Bámuniás and Mahápurushiás, embittered the former, and it is not impossible that Tamuli Phukan's omission of the name of Sankar Deb was due to prejudice. If we accept the date 1427, we must conclude that Sankar Deb was actually preaching at a time when Chaitanya was only 20 years of age and had not yet received his call. The biographies of Sankar Deb state that he was educated in Assam in the *tôl* of Pandit Mahendra Kandali, and that he went on pilgrimage only twice in his life, first when he was forty and lastly when he was eighty years old : at the time of his first pilgrimage Chaitanya was only four years old, if we accept the date of Sankar Deb's birth. Neither of the reformers mention the other in his writings, and it is improbable that Sankar Deb would have omitted the name of Chaitanya, if the latter had been his *guru*. The above are the external grounds advanced by the Mahápurushiás. The internal evidence furnished by the difference in the teachings of the two reformers is stronger. Sankar Deb worshipped Vishnu alone, while Chaitanya worshipped Radha and Krishna : the exclusion of the female energy from the creed of the former is a most important distinction : moroever, Sankar Deb excluded females entirely, while Chaitanya admitted them as disciples. Lastly, there is a separate sect of Chaitanya Panthis in Assam. All this evidence, it is claimed, points to the inference that Sankar Deb was independent of Chaitanya and was not influenced by him : the present view to the contrary is not a recent one, but apparently arose soon after Sankar Deb's death perhaps owing to the quarrel between the Brahmans and the

Mahápurushiás, which is still in evidence. It is not unnatural that the Bamunias should be reluctant to accept the claim that a Sudra was their founder, but on the whole they are probably correct in their attitude.

Hindu worship.

53. Brahmans and Vaidyas, who wear the sacred thread, should strictly perform *sandhya*, *i.e.*, recite prayers three times a day, at dawn, after bathing, at noon and at sunset, but usually the morning and the noon *sandhya* are done together before the morning meal; at the same time a libation of water is poured out in honour of deceased ancestors (*tarpan*) and the family idols are worshipped in the house. If the head of the Brahman household cannot or, as in the case of some advanced persons, will not do this himself, he must have the ceremonies performed by another Brahman. If the full *sandhya* is not performed, the saying of *Gayatri*, a part thereof, is essential and is done by most Brahmans. Members of other high castes may possess family idols, provided that their worship is performed by a Brahman, but only rich people can entertain such priests. What idols are kept in the house depends on the sect of the householder; *Salagram* stones are common to all, but a Sakta will keep an image of Durga, a Saiva an image or *lingam* of Siva, and a Vaishnava images of Radha and Krishna: in the Brahmaputra Valley most people do not keep any idol. One correspondent writes that in Sylhet non-Brahman gentlemen of mature years are reluctant to go to sleep without reciting, at least once, the *mantra* received from their *guru*. Instead of the *sandhya*, etc., non-Brahman Vaishnavas often chant hymns three times a day, especially in the Brahmaputra Valley. Tending the *tulsi* plant is said to be an universal daily custom among the higher castes in Sylhet and Cachar, but in the Brahmaputra Valley it is usually in the month of Kartik only that lamps are lit before it. Lower castes have no daily worship. In the Brahmaputra Valley there is a public *Namghar* or house of prayer either in every village or reserved for two or three villages; it should not be confounded with the family *Thakurghar* or *Gossain-ghar*, where the household idols are kept. Though the *Namghar* is public, Doms and Haris are not admitted at all and they as well as Ahoms, Borias, Chutias, Jugis, and Nats, who are not altogether prohibited from entrance, have usually separate *Namghars* of their own. The villagers assemble for prayer at the great festivals and on the appearance of epidemic.

The principal periodic festivals beginning from Baisakh, the first month of the Hindu year, are as follows:—

(1) *Rath Jatra* in honour of Jagannath in the month of Ashar, (2) *Jhulan Jatra* in Sraban and (3) *Janmastami* in Bhadra, both in honour of Krishna, (4) *Durga Puja* and (5) *Lakshmi Puja* in Asvin or Kartik, (6) *Kali Puja* and (7) *Jagaddhatri Puja* in honour of Durga and (8) *Rash Jatra* in honour of Krishna in Kartik, (9) *Paus Sankranti* or *Magh Bihu* in Paus, (10) *Saraswati Puja* in Magh, (11) *Sibaratri* and (12) *Dol Jatra* in honour of Krishna in Phalgun, and (13) *Chait Sankranti* or *Baihag Bihu* on the last day of the year.

Brahman priests alone can officiate at these periodic *pujas*, which are usually celebrated in the houses of well-to-do Brahmans or high caste Sudras, but the poorer classes often combine to hold a joint worship. It is impossible in the space at my disposal to discuss the ceremonies customary on these occasions, but in the next paragraph is given an account of three *Bihus* of the Brahmaputra Valley.

In times of need special ceremonies are performed: Kali is generally worshipped on the appearance of cholera, Sitala in an outbreak of small-pox, Narayan in times of drought, Rupashi Brata to remove barrenness. Amongst the lower Assamese castes, in cases of sickness, village demons or ghosts, which are known as Buradangaria and are supposed to live in big trees, are propitiated by offerings of flowers, eggs, rice, flour, betel-nuts, and plantains: the ceremony usually takes place at night and includes the lighting of a lamp fed with mustard oil. In the Brahmaputra Valley the most common ceremony is the singing of hymns (*namgoa*) and the reading of sacred books (*Kirtan seva*). To gain any desired object or to overcome danger there is a special form of invocation called *Satya-seva* or *Thakur-seva* in which Vishnu only is worshipped: at this ceremony, after the singing of hymns, a paste made of rice flour mixed with ripe plantains, ghee, gur, honey and milk is offered to Vishnu and is then distributed and eaten with reverence by the assembled people.

Male animal sacrifices are offered to a number of deities: castrated goats are slain in honour of Vishnu and Siva, who also receives rams; Kali, Durga and Manasha receive goats, buffaloes, pigeons, drakes, rams, and sometimes tortoises: the animals are

worshipped before being sacrificed. Near Bhumraguri hill outside Tezpur there is a small temple called *Manuhkata Debalai*, where human sacrifices took place in the time of the Ahom kings. It is said that young cowherds used to offer a grasshopper (*pharinga*) there every day, using two blades of *baranga* grass to perform the sacrifice: a grasshopper was provided by each of the boys in turn, but one day none could be found and the cowherds decided that the boy who failed to procure it should be offered up himself instead, and he was there and then sacrificed with the *baranga* grass. In Sylhet human sacrifices were offered by the Raja of Jaintia in the temple of Jainteswari and his territory was annexed in 1835 on account of his complicity in the capture of some British subjects who were slain as offerings.

In the Brahmaputra Valley there is no exception to the rule that in the worship of the gods the priest must be a Brahman. Grahabipras or Ganaks officiate when the planets are worshipped. Amongst the lower castes the form of worship is usually prayer and the singing of hymns, at which an ordinary caste man can recite and direct the hymns. In the Surma Valley Jugis have their own priests; in the case of minor deities amongst the Namasudras a specially inspired member of the caste often acts as priest. In both valleys there are degraded Brahmans who officiate at the marriages and other domestic ceremonies of the lower castes.

Bihus.

54. In the Brahmaputra Valley there are three great *Bihus* or rural festivals, the *Chait* or *Baihag Bihu* or New Year's Day to celebrate return of summer and the commencement of the agricultural year, the *Kati Bihu* on the last day of Asvin, which signalises the completion of the sowing of the crops, and the *Magh Bihu* or harvest festival at the end of the reaping of the paddy. The first is said to be *rangali* or full of amusement, the second *kangali* or poor, and the third *bhugali* or full of good cheer. A common feature of all is that on the first day of the *Bihu* the older people do not eat boiled rice, fish, or meat, but live on parched rice (*chira*), fried powdered rice (*sandoh*), or cakes made of rice flour, curds, gur, and milk. But on the night of that day they indulge in large quantities of rich food, including rice, fish, and meat, and hospitality is freely given to friends and relatives.

The *Baihag Bihu* begins on the last day of Chaitra and lasts for the first seven days of Baisakh. On the morning of the first day the people smear turmeric and pulse on the foreheads of the cattle and on themselves and then bathe the cattle in rivers or tanks. On returning home, the younger people bow before their elders and receive blessings for the new year. A Brahman will then perform *sandhya* and worship the domestic idols and the others sing hymns in honour of Lord Krishna to the accompaniment of cymbals and the clapping of hands. After this a meal of cakes, *chira*, etc., is taken: the kind of cake most in favour at the *Baihag Bihu* is called the *bara pitha* or *ghila pitha* or *goru pitha*; it is a small round flat cake made of rice flour and sugar fried in mustard oil and it is called *goru pitha* because in the evening the cows are fed with it. In the afternoon the young people indulge in sports, which include racing, *hudugudu* (which corresponds to the English game of prisoners), ball-throwing, fighting for cocoanuts, etc. Brahman pandits write prayers on the leaves of the *nahor* tree, asking Mahadeb to protect the houses from storms, and these leaves are preserved in the eaves. The Acharjis or Grahabipras read the new almanac and declare who will be the king, who the *mantri* amongst the gods for the year, and what will be the effects thereof, etc. New clothes woven at home are presented by the women to their husbands, brothers, and sons. In the evening all the cattle are given new ropes for tethering and before the cowshed a fire is made of paddy husks and some leaves, and the smoke is fanned into the cowshed; the fans are washed beforehand and brought into use from the next day, but no one can use them without having fanned the smoke as above. In the night time parties sing hymns recounting the doings of Krishna as the cowherd of Brindaban and visit the houses of the well-to-do: the songs are accompanied by clapping of hands, drums, and cymbals. This first day is called the *Goru Bihu*, because the cows are anointed and bathed, and the next day is called the *Manuh Bihu*, because friends and relatives are entertained and every one tries to enjoy himself as much as possible. The whole festival generally lasts for seven days and is hence called the *Bohagar Sat Bihu*, but in some places it lasts for nearly a month. After the first day youths and maidens dance together in the open fields and courtships begin which often result in runaway marriages and so-called marriages by capture. The old people amuse themselves with buffalo fights, cock-fighting, and games of dice and cowries. But now-a-days the gaieties of the *Bihu* are much less than formerly; in Lower Asssam the youths and maidens no longer dance together, though they still do so in Nowgong and Tezpur. In the days of the Ahom kings there used to be bull fights, falconry, contests with swords, spears, and arrows.

The *Kati Bihu* takes place on the last day of Asvin and is regarded as a poor one because there are no new food supplies at this time of the year, but hospitality is dispensed at night to friends and relatives. The principal characteristic of this festival is the planting and worship of *tulsi* plants. In the evening the newly-planted *tulsi* is worshipped by offering oblations and singing hymns and during the month of Kartik many people regularly light a mustard oil lamp before it.

For some time before the *Magh Bihu* sheds of a more or less unsubstantial character are erected in the fields by the boys of the village and fuel is stored in them. On the evening of the last day of Paus the boys assemble at these sheds and have a feast, the materials of which are provided by their parents and friends: after the feast they spend the whole night singing rustic songs* and dancing inside the sheds by the side of a fire. Early next morning after bathing they throw ghee on the roofs of the sheds, at the same time reciting *mantras*, and then set them on fire. They then go home and bow before their parents and elders and are given cakes of various kinds and fruits to eat. As mentioned above, no boiled rice is eaten during the day: the favourite cake on this occasion is called *chunga pitha*, which is prepared by baking rice flour in a hollow bamboo. So far as the boys are concerned, the festival seems to be a celebration by them of the termination of their duties as cowherds, as from this day the cattle are allowed to roam where they wish over the fields, but it is said that the burning of the sheds is an offering to *Agni*, the god of fire, and it is certain that *Agni* is worshipped on that day by all householders, especially Brahmans, with offerings of ghee, cakes, fried rice, etc., and recitations of *mantras*; and some people, under the belief that they can increase the fruitfulness of betel-nut, mango, and jack trees, etc., strike them on the *Bihu* day with the half-burnt bamboos of the sheds in which the boys pass the night.

Some Hindu sects.

55. The main sects of Hindus were described in the last Assam Census Report and all that is attempted here is to supplement the information there given. Since 1901 a new Vaishnava sect called *Hashi-Kannar Dal* has appeared in the Habiganj subdivision of Sylhet: the details of their form of worship are kept secret: but they are said to laugh and cry alternately while sitting in a circle under the presidency of their *guru* and derive their name from this practice. The *Kishori Bhajan* sect of Cachar still exists: it is said to be another form of *Sahajia*; a detailed account of the sect is contained in Babu Akshay Kumar Datta's *Upashak Sampradaya II.* The similar sect in the Brahmaputra Valley was referred to in the last Census Report under the name of Ratikhoa: it is divided into two sections, known as the Purnadharias and the Putimechis. Its founder is said to have been one Gopal Ata, a follower of Sankar Deb, who quarrelled with him and set up as an independent preacher at Nunmati in Kamrup. His followers do not recognise the authority of the Vedas or the supremacy of the Brahmans and have no caste restrictions; men and women worship together at night and observe no restriction in the matter of food or drink at the feasts which they hold on these occasions, though outwardly they obey all the ordinary Hindu rules. The Putimechias differ from the Purnadharias in observing these rules in their assemblies, but are apparently just as lax in their morals.

In the Brahmaputra Valley generally Hindus are included in one of the following four Sanhatis or prescribed paths:—Purusha Sanhati, Brahma Sanhati, Kala Sanhati, and Nika Sanhati. The Purusha Sanhati includes the Mahapurushias proper. The Brahma Sanhati includes the Damodarias and Haridevias, *i.e.*, the followers of the Brahman reformers of these names, who deny that they owe anything to Sankar Deb. The Kala Sanhati is comprised of sects which profess to be followers of Sankar Deb, but are not Mahapurushias, *i.e.*, the Moamarias and the Putimechias and the Purnadharias. Nika or White Sanhati is the name given to a more rigid sect of Mahapurushias.

Hindus in Assam are mainly Saktas or Vaishnavas: Sivaitism is unimportant. In spite of the apparent distinction between these two main sects, we find that they are not mutually exclusive, and that a Vaishnava will worship Durga, Kali, and other deities of the Sakti cult and a Sakta will not neglect the worship of Vishnu and the performance of *Jhulan* and *Dol*, which are essentially Vaishnava ceremonies. Generally, however, a Vaishnava abstains from a meat diet and does not sacrifice animals. It has been claimed that Vaishnavas are at heart monotheists and Saktas pantheists. Enquiries were made on this point and others concerning the differences between the two sects, but the replies are so vague that it is impossible to draw any conclusions from them.

*These songs are mostly indecent, but I managed to obtain three, of which one is a child's patter song, another refers to the fate of Maniram Dewan, who was hanged at Jorhat in 1857, and the last is a pretty love song.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

General distribution of the population by Religion.

Religion and locality.	Actual number in 1911.	Proportion per 10,000 of population in				Variation per cent. (increase + decrease—).			Net variation.
		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	1881-1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
HINDU.									
Assam	3,838,769	5,437	5,597	5,472	6,258	+11·9	+14·4	—6·1	+20·2
Brahmaputra Valley ...	2,180,339	7,014	7,182	6,984	8,504	+15·9	+9·9	—9·6	+15·2
Surma Valley	1,403,985	4,771	5,000	4,980	5,030	+5·7	+5·7	+10·6	+23·6
Hills	254,445	2,523	2,584	599	2,661	+15·7	+627·3	—81·6	+54·5
MUSALMAN.									
Assam	1,901,032	2,693	2,581	2,710	2,591	+20·2	+6·6	+12·3	+43·8
Brahmaputra Valley ...	355,320	1,143	950	981	918	+42·8	+3·6	+17·6	+73·9
Surma Valley	1,520,392	5,166	4,920	4,914	4,906	+16·3	+5·7	+11·6	+37·2
Hills	25,320	251	299	136	156	—·5	+271·2	—29·2	+161·5
ANIMIST.									
Assam	1,239,280	1,755	1,744	1,771	1,124	+16·0	+10·2	+69·1	+116·1
Brahmaputra Valley ...	538,994	1,734	1,782	1,974	534	+15·5	—3·5	+307·1	+353·8
Surma Valley	15,580	53	73	110	59	—19·8	—29·9	+108·7	+17·3	
Hills	684,706	6,790	6,845	9,080	7,135	+17·6	+27·0	+3·8	+55·1
CHRISTIAN.									
Assam	66,562	94	59	31	14	+85·1	+113·5	+137·2	+837·5
Brahmaputra Valley ...	21,272	68	48	28	14	+69·8	+83·7	+116·8	+576·4
Surma Valley	2,629	9	6	6	5	+54·6	+17·1	+26·9	+129·8
Hills	42,661	423	256	170	45	+96·2	+153·6	+205·1	+1,417·6
BUDDHIST.									
Assam	10,513	15	15	14	13	+18·0	+15·8	+17·2	+60·1
Brahmaputra Valley ...	9,791	31	30	28	29	+23·3	+14·5	+7·9	+52·4
Surma Valley	44	...	...	...	...	+109·5	+110·0	...	*
Hills	678	7	11	15	2	—28·6	+26·0	+434·8	+380·9
OTHERS.									
Assam	3,701	5	4	3	1	+36·4	+83·2	+324·4	+960·5
Brahmaputra Valley ...	2,953	9	8	5	1	+40·6	+58·3	+420·4	+1,058·0
Surma Valley ...	208	1	1	...	...	—19·1	+ 107·3	+59·0	+166·7
Hills	540	5	4	1	...	+52·1	+1,083·3	+87·5	+3,275·01

* The absolute variation is +44.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Distribution by Districts of the main Religions.

District and Natural Division.	Number per 10,000 of the population who are											
	Hindus.				Muhammadans.				Animists.			
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ASSAM	5,437	5,597	5,472	6,258	2,693	2,581	2,710	2,591	1,755	1,744	1,771	1,124
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	7,014	7,182	6,984	8,504	1,143	950	981	918	1,734	1,782	1,974	534
Goalpara	5,573	4,409	4,631	7,374	3,522	2,779	2,751	2,348	788	2,719	2,567	262
Kamrup	6,876	6,914	7,019	8,836	968	911	873	782	2,105	2,132	2,077	364
Darrang	6,502	7,095	6,367	9,213	538	515	599	567	2,882	2,326	2,985	177
Nowgong	5,856	6,422	6,226	8,040	517	482	411	388	3,560	3,054	3,343	1,5 0
Sibsagar	8,623	8,855	9,157	9,173	431	416	433	423	834	656	355	373
Lakhimpur	7,846	8,979	8,944	8,460	286	321	318	323	1,635	484	493	910
SURMA VALLEY ...	4,771	5,000	4,980	5,030	5,166	4,920	4,904	4,906	53	73	110	59
Cachar plains... ...	6,488	6,725	6,528	6,449	3,311	3,055	3,070	3,145	177	194	378	330
Sylhet	4,444	4,680	4,715	4,821	5,519	5,265	5,217	5,157	29	50	64	18
HILLS	2,523	2,584	599	2,661	251	299	136	156	6,790	6,845	9,089	7,13[illegible]
Garo Hills	1,310	960	937	1,448	517	564	469	377	7,811	8,192	8,472	8,099
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	402	265	230	336	65	55	41	33	8,187	8,815	9,366	9,504
North Cachar ...	5,521	5,858	4,340	4,478	162	1,422	8	1	4,283	2,656	5,651	5,519
Naga Hills	282	327	361	133	21	14	17	9	9,473	9,565	9,571	9,853
Manipur	5,816	5,996	...	5,930	419	365	...	220	3,758	3,631	...	3,857
Lushai Hills	385	409	368	...	34	25	49	...	9,274	9,542	9,578	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Christians, number and variations.

District and Natural Division.	Actual number of Christians in				Variation per cent.			
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	1881-1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASSAM	66,562	35,969	16,844	7,100	+ 85·05	+113·54	+137·24	+ 837·49
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	21,272	12,526	6,817	3,145	+ 69·82	+ 83·74	+116·75	+ 576·37
Goalpara	5,252	3,495	1,632	513	+ 50·27	+114·15	+218·12	+ 923·78
Kamrup	2,535	1,479	948	366	+ 71·39	+ 56·01	+159·01	+ 592·62
Darrang	1,913	1,358	849	371	+ 40·86	+ 59·95	+128·84	+ 415·63
Nowgong	1,373	593	417	254	+131·53	+ 42·20	+ 64·17	+ 440·55
Sibsagar	5,410	2,489	1,365	804	+117·35	+ 82·34	+ 69·77	+ 572·88
Lakhimpur	4,789	3,112	1,606	837	+ 53·88	+ 93·77	+ 91·87	+ 472·16
SURMA VALLEY	2,629	1,701	1,452	1,144	+ 54·55	+ 17·14	+ 26·92	+ 129·80
Cachar plains	1,117	957	809	765	+ 16·71	+ 18·29	+ 5·75	+ 46·01
Sylhet	1,512	744	643	379	+ 103·22	+ 15·70	+ 69·65	+ 298·94
HILLS	42,661	21,742	8,575	2,811	+ 96·21	+153·55	+205·05	+1,417·64
Garo Hills	5,439	3,647	1,184	670	+ 49·13	+208·02	+ 76·71	+ 711·79
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	31,257	17,321	7,144	2,107	+ 80·45	+142·45	+239·06	+1,383·62
North Cachar	64	83	1	2	— 22·89	+8,200·00	— 50·00	+3,100·00
Naga Hills	3,308	601	231	25	+450·41	+160·17	+824·00	+13,132·00
Manipur	132	45	...	7	+193·33	...	...	+1,785·71
Lushai Hills	2,461	45	15	...	+5,368·88	+200·00	...	...

In the calculations for the Province as a whole and for Natural Divisions those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Races and Sects of Christians (actual numbers).

Sect.	European.		Anglo-Indian.		Indian.		Total.		Variation.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	1911.	1901.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Anglican Communion ...	1,001	404	123	83	1,696	1,712	5,019	3,374	+3,346
Protestant (unsectarian or sect not specified).	9	5	3	1	1,002	681	1,701		
Armenian	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	3	−1
Baptist	50	33	8	16	11,022	10,350	21,479	10,045	+11,434
Congregationalist	15	6	...	...	8	...	29	6	+23
Greek	3	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	+1
Lutheran	6	7	...	...	1,935	1,804	3,752	1,428	+2,324
Methodist	7	4	2	...	10	7	30	19	+11
Minor Protestant Denominations	...	1	1	...	71	89	162	3,353	−3,191
Presbyterian	379	93	27	17	14,593	16,075	31,184	16,434 *	+14,750
Quaker	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...
Roman Catholic	95	93	111	87	1,244	1,153	2,783	1,073	+1,710
Sect not returned ...	11	4	1	...	...	...	16	...	...
Indefinite beliefs ...	21	1	...	...	177	203	402	229	+173
Total	1,598	652	276	204	31,758	32,074	66,562	35,969	+30,593

* Figures in column 9 against Presbyterian includes Calvinist.

Column 10— { Absolute variation against Quaker is −3.
Absolute variation against sect not returned is +16.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

DISTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIANS PER MILLE.

(a) Races by sect and (b) sects by race.

Sect.	(a) Races distributed by sect.				(b) Sects distributed by race.			
	European.	Anglo-Indian.	Indian.	Total.	European.	Anglo-Indian.	Indian.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Anglican Communion	624	429	53	75	280	41	679	1,000
Armenian	1	...	...	...	1,000	...	...	1,000
Baptist	37	50	335	323	4	1	995	1,000
Congregationalist	9	...	...	...	724	...	276	1,000
Greek	1	...	...	...	1,000	...	...	1,000
Lutheran	6	...	59	56	3	...	997	1,000
Methodist	5	4	...	1	367	67	566	1,000
Minor Protestant Denominations ...	...	2	3	2	6	6	988	1,000
Presbyterian	210	92	480	469	15	1	984	1,000
Protestant (unsectarian or sect not specified.)	6	8	26	26	8	2	990	1,000
Roman Catholic	84	413	38	42	68	71	861	1,000
Sect not returned	7	2	...	...	937	63	...	1,000
Indefinite beliefs	10	...	6	6	55	...	945	1,000
Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	34	7	959	1,000

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Religions of urban and rural population.

Natural Division.	Number per 10,000 of urban population who are—					Number per 10,000 of rural population who are—				
	Hindu.	Musalman.	Animist.	Christian.	Others.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Animist.	Christian.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM	7,475	1,917	389	164	55	5,375	2,717	1,797	92	19
I—Brahmaputra Valley ...	7,337	2,332	119	119	93	7,006	1,113	1,774	67	40
II—Surma Valley	5,466	4,426	16	63	29	4,760	5,178	53	8	1
III—Hills	8,576	340	799	251	34	1,925	242	7,383	440	10

CHAPTER V.

AGE.

Introductory.

56. In this chapter the treatment of age statistics is limited to considering in a general way the conclusions which may be drawn from them on the subjects of the length of life and fertility of the people and the changes in their age distribution. Age in relation to sex, marriage, education and infirmities is discussed in the chapters on these subjects. The statistics we are concerned with are contained in Imperial Table VII: there are ten Subsidiary Tables attached to this chapter, of which the first six are deduced from the Imperial Table and the remaining four show birth and death-rates as recorded.

Inaccuracy of the statistics.

57. Age statistics are probably the most inaccurate of any in every country in the world, so that the fact that the returns now under discussion are far from correct is a matter of no surprise. There are two kinds of error, (1) mere want of accuracy which makes people plump on certain round numbers, especially multiples of ten, and (2) deliberate exaggeration or understatement. The principal examples of the latter are the tendencies to show unmarried females as under fifteen and elderly people and young wives as older than they really are. The first error can be removed by a method of smoothing, the principle of which is to find the correct number at any age by adding together the numbers at the ages on either side of it and dividing the total by the number of age periods taken: for example, in smoothing for the accumulations on a multiple of 10, the numbers at the ages from 5 less to 5 more would be added together and the total divided by 11. The second error cannot be easily corrected. It may be stated at once that there is no intention of discussing in this chapter anything but the actual returns: the statistics of the main provinces of India are being examined in England by an eminent Actuary, whose conclusions may be ready in time to be printed as appendix to this report.

The errors of arithmetical inaccuracy referred to above are very clearly brought out in Subsidiary Table I, which shows the unadjusted ages by annual age periods of 100,000 of the population. The first thing to notice is the large number of infants under one year old in comparison with those between one and two. As has been pointed out in previous Census Reports, this is due to the fact that all babies which were still being suckled were regarded by the enumerators as infants—the word prescribed for use in the schedules for babies under one year. Three is a more popular age than any of those preceding it, and five is adopted with avidity, though there should be less children at that age than at any previous one. Eight is a good round number that appeals to people and, while nine is unpopular with both sexes, ten is adopted more by boys than by girls. The latter follow the boys, though to a less extent, in returning twelve and eighteen as their ages, but there are more girls at twenty, the next point of accumulation, than there are boys. In the next decade the popular ages are 25 and 30, though 22, 27 and 28 have a fair show of supporters. In the thirties, 32, 35, and 38 show high numbers: in the forties people seem to go in for general numbers and stick to the beginning and middle of the decade; after that the decennial period is mostly returned, though the middle of it is not unpopular and 72 appears more often than 75. The figures for Hindus and Muhammadans follow the same course pretty well, but up to 30 the latter seem to be more addicted to fours and eights and less to twos than the Hindus, and after that they are more inclined to plump on multiples of five or tens: this may due to the fact that they are more backward in intelligence.

The tendency to deliberate misstatement amongst females is shown by the fact that the number of women aged 20—25 in 1911 is about 10 per cent. larger than the number aged 10—15 in 1901, while those between 25 and 30 now are over 27 per cent. more numerous than those between 15 and 20 in 1901; the excess of women between 20 and 30 now over those aged 10—20 ten years ago is 18 per cent. Looking to Subsidiary Table I we find that there are more girls than boys up to 3 years of age, but there are less from 5 to 10: there is a slight excess of girls at 11, the year before puberty, but they are in defect again practically up to 20, for the small numbers returned at 17 and 19 are not important. At 20 there is a large excess of women, which continues at every year except 29 up to 30, after which it falls again until we get to 70.

Age distribution on tea gardens.

58. The error that results in the age distribution of the province from the extent of immigration to the tea gardens has been referred to in the last two Census Reports and in 1901 was considered to be so great that the statistics of the tea districts were not discussed. In order to ascertain what the effect is likely to be, I have taken Sibsagar as a typical tea district and separated the garden figures from those of the district as a whole. It must of course not be forgotten that, as Mr. Gait noted in 1891, the number of ex-coolies who live outside the gardens is also likely to have some effect and it is impossible to obtain separate statistics for such people. It has been pointed out by Sundbärg that in almost all countries the number of persons aged 15—50 is uniformly about half the total population, the number per 1,000 varying from 509 in South America to 492 in the Netherlands in twenty instances: emigration lowers the proportion slightly and immigration raises it, unless the immigrants are married. In Sibsagar district as a whole the number aged 15—50 per 1,000 of the population is 506, but it is 587 on the tea gardens, the exclusion of which reduces it to 481 for the non-garden population: in the province as a whole the proportion is 493. The figures may be considered from another point of view. Sundbärg lays down that when population is growing the number in the group 0—15 is higher than in the group 50 and over, and he instances Australia where there about 400 aged 0-15 against 100 aged 50 and over, whereas in France the two groups contain 270 and 222, respectively. In Sibsagar district as a whole the young group contains 411 per 1,000, while on the tea gardens it contains 353. The first part of the theory seems to fit in very well with the facts as we find them and it would appear to follow from the second part that the tea gardens also contain great possibilities in the matter of natural growth of population.

Age distribution of certain Castes.

59. Subsidiary Table IV gives the age distribution of a thousand persons of either sex in certain selected castes. What strikes one as remarkable is that castes indigenous to the Brahmaputra Valley seem to have an unusually large number of children under twelve: up to five years of age the Kacharis, Mikirs, Nadials, Ahoms, Kalitas, Kewats and Koches are much more numerous in both sexes than castes common to the whole province or peculiar to the Surma Valley. Much the same result is obtained in the age period 5-12. It follows that there is an apparent excess of adults in the other castes and one would be inclined to infer that in the Brahmaputra Valley the people are prolific, but short lived. I am not sure that this theory could be advanced with any certainty: it is not improbable that in the castes named above there is a greater tendency to inaccuracy than amongst the rest. The higher the caste, the greater should be the extent of accuracy, and it is remarkable how closely the figures for Brahmans and Kayasthas agree for both sexes: but this may be in part due to the fact that the condition of life in either caste is similar. But I am afraid, that apart from pure inaccuracy, I cannot put forward any reason to explain why fishermen, such as the Malos and Patnis of the Surma Valley and the Nadials of the Brahmaputra Valley, should show such large discrepancies. On the whole, the statistics for caste are perhaps rather disturbing than otherwise: they are shown for comparatively small numbers, so that the likelihood of error is great, but they have the advantage of showing the need for basing theories on large numbers only, so that errors of inaccuracy may be reduced.

Variations in age distribution.

60. However wrong the actual age returns may be, it can be assumed that they are equally incorrect at each census and, therefore, that changes in the returns represent facts. Subsidiary Table II shows the age distribution of 10,000 by sexes for the last four decennial periods. It will be noticed that the regrettable decline in the number of young children which was referred to in paragraph 140 of the last report has ceased. The number of children under 5 in 10,000 of the population at the last four censuses is shown in the margin. It was inferred in 1901 that the result in that year was probably due to a diminution of the reproductive powers of the population owing to the general unhealthiness of the decade. But I am inclined to think that the result was not altogether attributable to this cause. It is quite true that the number of married females aged 15-40 fell, but it is a question how far this was due to the return as unmarried of *dhemanis*, *i.e.*, women living with men without having gone through a formal ceremony. It was shown in paragraph 753 of the last India Census Report that famine in the Central Provinces cut off 21 per cent. of the children under ten and

	Male.	Female.
1911	1,492	1,648
1901	1,430	1,569
1891	1 516	1,684
1881	1,653	1,826

30 per cent. of those over 60 between 1891 and 1901, while there had been an actual increase amongst those aged 15-40. A glance at Subsidiary Table VI, which gives the variations of population at certain age periods, will show that in Assam during the same period (1891-1901) the increase in the number of children was less than half that of the total population and there was a very heavy decrease amongst those aged 60 and over, while persons in the prime of life increased by 10·3 per cent. Kamrup and Nowgong were the districts which suffered most between 1891 and 1901: the heaviest percentages of loss in the former were amongst the old people and those aged 10-15 : in Nowgong the losses in the reproductive period were less than in any other, while the tendency to a heavy mortality at the extremes of life also appears. The figures for both valleys for 1891-1901 run on the same lines, and in the Surma Valley there is even now a decrease of almost 1 per cent. in the age period 10-15, which would show that the mortality of children after the earthquake of 1897 must have been very great. Now on the contrary we find that children under 10 are more numerous by nearly 20 per cent. and elderly people by 16 to 18 per cent., while the period 10-15 and the reproductive period 15-40 show increases of only 9·8 and 12·6 per cent., respectively, against 15·2 per cent. in the whole population. The increases, which are very large at the extremes of life, are a little greater than the growth of population in the period 40—60 and less in the period 15—40, while the generation aged 10—15, which will constitute the greater part of the fathers and mothers at the next census, has fallen back, particularly in the Surma Valley. We may therefore expect a decrease in the birth-rate and at the same time an increase in the death-rate within the next few years, because there is now a greater population at the beginning and the end of life.

In view of the variations in the return of religion amongst Hindus and Animists, which have been discussed in Chapter IV, it is not very safe to draw dogmatic conclusions from the age distribution of the main religions given in Subsidiary Table III. It may be noted that the proportion of children amongst Muhammadans and Animists is much higher than amongst Hindus, a result which is not improbably due, as was stated in 1901, to the fact that the majority of the immigrants are adult Hindus. Both the Hindu and Muhammadan figures for children aged 5—10 must be wrong again at this census, because they are in excess of the number under five. There is an increase in the number of those under ten amongst Hindus and Muhammadans, but a small decrease amongst Animists.

Fecundity.

61. Subsidiary Table V supplies materials for estimating the present capabilities of the people to increase in comparison with their position in 1891 and 1901. The proportion of children per 100 persons and per 100 married females aged 15—40 has increased in each natural division since the last census: their proportion to women in the productive period of life is the more important. The women of the Hills have the largest families and those in the Surma Valley the smallest, while those in the Brahmaputra Valley stand midway. We may take this fact as tending to show that the very early marriages customary in the Surma Valley are not conducive to growth of population. Though the proportion of children to child-bearing women is not as high as in 1891, there are substantial increases in practically every part of the province except Goalpara, Garo Hills and Darrang: in the two former the proportion of children had increased above the average at the last census and could not remain unchanged, while in Darrang the decline must be due to greater mortality, which may be attributed to the continued unhealthiness of Mangaldai subdivision. It would appear that not alone has the number of children increased, but that there are now slightly more married women in the productive age except in the Hills. We have therefore two cumulative reasons for assuming that the reproductive power of the population has increased considerably. There is, on the other hand, a slight increase in the proportion of old people to those in the prime of life in comparison with 1901, but this is only to be expected in view of the losses which had then occurred in the earlier and latter periods of life.

Matriarchy and fecundity.

62. In Sir Charles Lyall's introduction to the monograph on the Khasis the question has been raised of the effect on reproduction of the matriarchal system; it was pointed out that the proportion of Khasi children per 100 married women aged 15—40 had fallen between 1891 and 1901, and it was suggested that the independence of the wife and the facilities which exist for divorce lead to restrictions upon child-bearing and thus keep the population stationery. Subsidiary Table V shows that the proportion of children under ten to prospective mothers in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills has risen from 204

to 213 since the last census and is now considerably greater than in 1891: if we confine ourselves to children under five their proportion is 118 against 103 in 1901 and 117 in 1891. In the last Census Report the decline in the number of children was ascribed to a decrease in fertility consequent on the unhealthiness which followed the earthquake. I have suggested above that the theory of diminished fertility is not the whole explanation of the shortage of children in 1901, and that we must not forget the heavy mortality in unhealthy years among those at the beginning of life. Even in 1901 the proportion of children amongst Khasis was considerably higher than the provincial average and it is now still more so. It will be noticed that the possible effect of matriarchy was raised in connection with the slow increase of the Khasi population at the last census, but there is no doubt (*vide* Chapter II) that Mr. Allen was correct in 1901 in considering the arrest to growth at that time as temporary. Hence, as far as the Khasis are concerned, we cannot infer that matriarchy has a deleterious effect on fecundity. At the same time it appears to be true that their easy system of divorce has some effect: the Deputy Commissioner reports that a divorced woman often refrains from marrying again, either in the hope that her late husband will return, or from the fear that she may be unable to support further additions to her family; for it is the mother and not the father who is responsible for the maintenance of the children. The matriarchal system is also found amongst the Garos, but unfortunately it is impossible now to distinguish between the hills and plains mauzas in the matter of age statistics; the latter are mainly inhabited by Muhammadans from the neighbouring districts.

Mean age.

63. In Subsidiary Tables II and III will be found the mean age of the population, calculated for the natural divisions and main religions at each census since 1881. No attempt has been made to smoothe the figures, because there is usually little difference between the adjusted and the crude figures and our main object is to compare the variations. The mean age is the average age of the people alive at the time of the census: if births and deaths were exactly equal, it would also be the mean duration of life. The mean age of the woman appears to be always less than that of the men and remains unchanged since the last census; the male age has increased very slightly and is very little more than what it was in 1881, while the age of woman has decreased since then. There is nothing remarkable in the very slight variations between the three natural divisions either amongst males or females. The mean age of Hindus is a little less than in 1901, but is still higher than that of Muhammadans or Animists, amongst both of whom it has risen. The fact that most of the immigrants are Hindus is responsible for the excess in that religion, and it is not improbable that the increase amongst Animists is due to the more accurate record of religion amongst immigrants to tea gardens.

Birth and death rates.

64. To calculate the birth and death-rates from the age statistics is a difficult process, full of technical detail, and could be done only by an actuary. It is fair to assume, however, that the birth rate depends mainly on the number of married women in the productive period from 15 to 40. The birth-rate calculated per 1,000 of the population must change according to the varying proportion which women of these ages bear to the total population. It must also be remembered that the published birth and mortality rates are calculated on the population at the previous census: with a growing population there should be an increase in the number of both births and deaths, though the latter would be less in number, while in a decadent period the number of deaths may actually decrease. The mean age at the Census of 1911 is 23·7 for males and 22·6 for females: as the population is growing, it may be assumed that the mean duration of life is greater than the mean age, and it may also be taken that there is on the whole a tendency to understate age. As a rough approximation we might assume that the mean duration of life is 25·5: this would give a death's rate of $\frac{1000}{25\cdot5}$ or 39·2 per mille per annum. We have seen that the natural growth of population has been over 15 per cent. in the last decade, but, as I have pointed out in Chapter II, this is not normal, and it would perhaps not be excessive if we were to estimate 10 per cent as the average increase, *i.e.*, 10 per mille per annum: on this estimate the corresponding birth-rate should be 49·2 per mille. I find in the Resolution on the Assam Sanitary Report for 1903 that the Chief Commissioner, after careful consideration of the results of the previous census, came to the conclusion that 45 per mille might be taken as the standard birth-rate of the province. It is clear, however, that the results of the census of 1901 were not any more normal than those of the present one, and it is possible that due consideration was not given to the age distribution at that time.

But even if the birth-rate as then ascertained was correct at that time, there is no reason why it should not change. In 1891 Mr. Gait calculated the birth-rate to be 49·3 per mille, which practically agrees with my estimate, though it was based on a different method of calculation: of course in a matter of this kind it is impossible to ensure exactness, but I am inclined to think that in actual fact the rate is very much nearer 50 than 45.

Subsidiary Tables VII—X contain statistics of reported birth and death-rates. I have already referred in Chapter II to the inaccuracy of our vital statistics, but it is not waste of time to examine the figures in detail. It will be seen at a glance that the reported figures are very much below the true facts, even if we confine our attention to the excess of births over deaths. Comparing Subsidiary Tables VII and VIII we find that in the province as a whole the number of births per mille within the last ten years is greater than the number of deaths by 62, giving an average growth of 6 per mille per annum, which is equivalent to an increase of 6 per cent. in population by natural growth: but in the areas for which vital statistics are recorded natural population has expanded by anything from 10 to 16 per cent. The inaccuracy is so great that there is the danger of inferring that the present system of collecting vital statistics is absolutely useless. Even though the actual figures and the differences between them are incorrect, the statistics have at least the advantage of showing general tendencies. Subsidiary Table IX shows that the death-rate rose in 1905 and 1909, *i.e.*, at the very beginning of the cholera outbreaks of those and the following years, while the high rate of infant mortality disclosed, though perhaps not absolutely correct, at least points to a general truth. Similarly, though there is no doubt of the very great errors in diagnosis, Subsidiary Table X shows that broad facts are clearly brought out, not alone in regard to the general causes of mortality, but also in the sex distribution.

There remains one small point in connection with the registration of births on tea gardens. Taking again Sibsagar as a typical tea districts, I find that in 1911 there were 15,674 births recorded in the area exclusive of tea gardens and 4,640 within the latter. If we compare these figures with those of married women aged 15—40, we get a birth-rate of 144 per mille of the latter in the tea gardens and of 206 outside. It is a debatable question how far this difference is due to the deliberate avoidance of child-bearing (*e.g.*, by abortion) or to defective registration. I have already remarked that the registration on tea gardens is really reliable only for Act VI coolies, and it is very probable, as was noted in the last Census Report (paragraph 55), that infants which die within a few months of birth are usually not brought on the books at all. The subject is one worth examination by the Sanitary Commissioner.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Age distribution of 100,000 *of each sex by annual periods.*

Age.	Male.			Female.			Age.	Male.			Female.		
	Hindu.	Musalman.	Both religions	Hindu.	Musalman.	Both religions.		Hindu.	Musalman.	Both religions.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Both religions.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total ...	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000							
0 ...	3,463	3,207	3,433	3,603	3,608	3,604	51 ...	120	147	123	315	147	236
1 ...	2,187	2,149	2,182	2,270	2,334	2,278	52 ...	526	537	527	478	212	448
2 ...	3,633	3,793	3,651	3,659	4,228	3,723	53 ...	142	114	138	159	163	159
3 ...	3,674	4,526	3,783	3,921	4,016	3,931	54 ...	245	98	227	291	114	271
4 ...	3,525	3,842	3,562	2,461	3,803	3,500	55 ...	792	781	791	653	539	640
5 ...	4,178	4,330	4,196	3,776	4,114	3,811	56 ...	375	342	372	293	245	287
6 ...	3,086	3,060	3,083	2,930	3,297	2,971	57 ...	212	212	212	163	114	157
7 ...	3,034	3,467	3,085	2,909	3,412	3,018	58 ...	494	244	464	486	375	474
8 ...	3,918	4,314	3,964	3,329	3,754	3,377	59 ...	144	98	138	152	147	152
9 ...	2,028	2,116	2,038	2,009	1,943	2,001	60 ...	2,133	2,260	2,159	2,231	131	1,396
10 ...	3,566	3,646	3,576	2,849	3,297	2,900	61 ...	107	49	100	235	2,563	496
11 ...	1,363	1,074	1,329	1,630	1,143	1,575	62 ...	187	130	180	344	294	328
12 ...	3,465	3,012	3,413	2,293	2,187	2,281	63 ...	56	49	55	120	65	113
13 ...	1,111	749	1,069	1,098	947	1,081	64 ...	90	49	85	330	65	300
14 ...	1,624	1,823	1,647	1,399	1,457	1,403	65 ...	307	374	315	291	163	276
15 ...	1,805	1,840	1,809	1,197	1,355	1,215	66 ...	58	...	51	54	49	53
16 ...	1,942	1,774	1,922	1,733	1,458	1,701	67 ...	71	49	68	101	65	97
17 ...	1,004	733	973	1,135	718	1,088	68 ...	129	147	131	155	131	152
18 ...	2,493	2,605	2,506	2,227	2,481	2,256	69 ...	56	65	57	68	65	68
19 ...	790	553	762	882	718	863	70 ...	446	488	451	490	653	509
20 ...	2,983	3,174	3,005	3,649	4,554	3,750	71 ...	39	33	38	19	82	26
21 ...	631	391	603	1,303	604	1,229	72 ...	103	65	99	80	...	71
22 ...	1,493	1,253	1,465	1,712	1,404	1,678	73 ...	21	33	23	10	...	9
23 ...	736	586	718	944	849	933	74 ...	28	...	25	8	...	7
24 ...	783	684	772	1,117	686	1,068	75 ...	94	81	93	103	114	104
25 ...	3,212	3,598	3,257	4,211	4,440	4,237	76 ...	26	16	25	29	16	27
26 ...	794	765	791	1,253	735	1,195	77 ...	30	16	28	14	33	16
27 ...	1,127	1,091	1,122	1,125	1,175	1,131	78 ...	71	49	68	78	49	75
28 ...	1,802	2,067	1,833	1,788	2,220	1,837	79 ...	21	...	19	21	49	24
29 ...	596	391	573	501	604	512	80 ...	257	244	256	359	875	360
30 ...	3,942	4,363	3,991	4,524	5,420	4,625	81 ...	11	16	11	14	...	13
31 ...	363	309	356	688	343	649	82 ...	19	33	21	6	82	15
32 ...	1,772	1,579	1,750	1,586	1,371	1,562	83 ...	9	...	8	4	...	4
33 ...	502	244	472	653	457	631	84 ...	9	...	8	6	...	6
34 ...	661	635	658	647	751	659	85 ...	21	49	25	10	16	11
35 ...	2,622	3,288	2,700	2,454	2,791	2,492	86 ...	4	16	6	2	...	2
36 ...	1,056	781	1,024	896	571	860	87 ...	6	...	6	4	...	4
37 ...	526	440	516	507	392	574	88 ...	9	...	8	8	...	7
38 ...	1,517	1,074	1,465	1,323	947	1,281	89 ...	13	...	11	2	...	2
39 ...	470	537	478	614	588	611	90 ...	19	49	23	27	82	33
40 ...	4,309	4,330	4,311	3,861	4,807	3,977	91 ...	2	...	2	...	...	...
41 ...	253	277	256	606	190	558	92 ...	2	16	4	...	...	...
42 ...	790	505	756	795	424	754	93 ...	2	...	2	...	...	...
43 ...	221	163	214	313	65	285	94 ...	2	...	2	2	...	2
44 ...	275	277	275	332	229	320	95 ...	11	...	9	4	...	4
45 ...	1,895	2,149	1,924	1,485	1,485	1,485	96 ...	4	16	6	2	...	2
46 ...	292	179	279	231	16	207	97 ...	4	...	4	...	...	...
47 ...	376	423	382	210	131	201	98 ...	4	...	4	2	...	2
48 ...	933	781	916	608	506	677	99 ...	...	...	...	2	...	2
49 ...	255	229	252	284	310	287	100 and over.	13	...	11	27	33	27
50 ...	3,380	3,760	3,424	2,973	3,379	3,018							

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Age distribution of 10,000 *of each sex in the Province and each Natural Division.*

Age.	1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.		Age.	1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASSAM ...	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	SURMA VALLEY	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0—1 ...	336	359	349	373	339	368	258	288	0—5 ...	1,420	1,571	1,343	1,475	1,455	1,611	1,611	1,703
1—2 ...	177	196	174	191	182	203	271	294	5—10 ...	1,602	1,696	1,550	1,634	1,563	1,643	1,492	1,385
2—3 ...	316	356	301	337	324	366	333	373	10—15 ...	1,112	901	1,232	1,008	1,228	1,006	1,123	968
3—4 ...	334	379	303	330	339	383	353	400	15—20 ...	772	908	810	983	778	912	744	814
4—5 ...	329	358	303	329	332	364	384	403	20—40 ...	3,245	3,283	3,282	3,277	3,134	3,144	3,128	3,127
5—10 ...	1,553	1,624	1,516	1,564	1,506	1,564	1,430	1,335	40—60 ...	1,434	1,226	1,370	1,205	1,365	1,179	1,393	1,363
10—15 ...	1,067	927	1,128	965	1,140	969	1,014	857	60 and over ...	415	415	413	418	477	505	505	635
15—20 ...	751	856	751	881	747	851	708	765	Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	5
20—25 ...	741	925	758	977	757	928	736	815	Mean age* ...	23·6	22·5	...	...	23·2	22·3	23·4	23·7
25—30 ...	923	976	957	995	882	928	895	1,003	HILLS ...	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
30—35 ...	853	817	896	833	865	835	797	733	0—15 ...	1,609	1,610	1,573	1,571	1,716	1,715	847	882
35—40 ...	711	541	708	527	672	506	625	541	5—10 ...	1,485	1,446	1,475	1,340	1,382	1,303	724	676
40—45 ...	612	521	621	547	623	557	516	470	10—15 ...	1,097	1,026	1,050	956	1,024	949	521	449
45—50 ...	362	276	337	263	324	242	373	322	15—20 ...	830	933	765	892	736	878	372	431
50—55 ...	380	344	371	351	390	352	323	325	20—40 ...	2,915	2,986	3,098	3,197	3,242	3,283	1,684	1,830
55—60 ...	154	130	143	121	136	109	206	187	40—60 ...	1,542	1,448	1,568	1,475	1,458	1,384	753	726
60—65 ...	210	221							60 and over ...	523	551	471	529	448	488	225	307
65—70 ..	53	51	384	407	442	475	418	512	Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,874	4,699
70 and over ...	138	143							Mean age* ...	23·9	23·8	...	...	23·5	23·4	23·7	24·2
Unspecified ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	365	377									
Mean age* ...	23·7	22·6	23·5	22·6	23·5	22·5	23·3	23·2									
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000									
0—5 ..	1,526	1,736	1,476	1,665	1,545	1,756	1,695	1,969									
5—10 ...	1,528	1,614	1,495	1,551	1,470	1,531	1,481	1,318									
10—15 ..	1,014	919	1,045	923	1,069	934	984	812									
15—20 ...	708	779	687	772	717	782	724	773									
20—40 ...	3,305	3,328	3,421	3,434	3,209	3,235	3,194	3,279									
40—60 ...	1,567	1,255	1,547	1,298	1,586	1,322	1,551	1,345									
60 and over ...	351	369	329	357	404	440	362	421									
Unspecified ...	..	...	...	...	...	...	9	3									
Mean age* ...	23·8	22·3	...	...	23·7	22·6	23·3	22·6									

* NOTE.—The mean age has been worked out on the unsmoothed figures.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Age distribution of 10,000 *of each sex in each main religion.*

(1) Hindu.

Age.	1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Total	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0—5	1,375	1,545	1,308	1,461	1,378	1,563	1,615	1,827
5—10	1,467	1,563	1,401	1,474	1,424	1,513	1,493	1,354
10—15	1,022	912	1,090	938	1,110	936	994	832
15—20	748	820	754	845	768	826	723	768
20—40	3,403	3,391	3,538	3,519	3,324	3,331	3,227	3,326
40—60	1,600	1,351	1,543	1,351	1,560	1,347	1,517	1,368
60 and over	385	418	366	412	436	484	427	521
Unspecified	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4
Mean age...	24·1	23·3	24·3	23·3	24·2	23·3	23·6	23·4

(2) Musalman.

Total	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0—5	1,594	1,782	1,517	1,685	1,620	1,798	1,741	1,878
5—10	1,749	1,858	1,731	1,824	1,681	1,759	1,519	1,511
10—15	1,172	932	1,264	1,030	1,279	1,053	1,183	988
15—20	770	925	783	989	756	925	761	847
20—40	3,040	3,076	3,057	3,033	2,969	2,950	3,017	2,934
40—60	1,286	1,054	1,259	1,067	1,253	1,046	1,322	1,273
60 and over	389	373	389	372	442	469	452	566
Unspecified	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	3
Mean age...	22·3	20·9	22·1	20·8	22·1	21·0	22·6	22·5

(3) Animist.

Total	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0—5	1,718	1,759	1,715	1,732	1,820	1,885	1,052	1,039
5—10	1,535	1,474	1,588	1,476	1,512	1,427	789	763
10—15	1,039	954	1,047	948	1,012	939	684	659
15—20	719	850	687	834	659	810	461	531
20—40	2,938	3,135	2,954	3,181	2,990	3,154	1,978	2,088
40—60	1,573	1,356	1,566	1,380	1,540	1,327	1,043	1,000
60 and over	478	472	443	449	467	458	277	326
Unspecified	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,716	3,603
Mean age...	23·6	23·0	23·2	22·8	23·3	22·5	24·2	24·4

Note.—The mean ages are worked out on the unsmoothed figures.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Age distribution of 1,000 *of each sex in certain castes.*

Caste.	Males, number per mille aged					Females, number per mille aged				
	0—5.	5—12.	12—15.	15—40.	40 and over.	0—5.	5—12.	12—15.	15—40.	40 and over
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Ahom...	163	218	62	389	169	182	223	59	383	153
Baidya...	129	194	59	409	209	163	231	39	400	167
Barui...	122	190	60	410	218	132	186	50	432	200
Bhuimali	110	185	61	433	211	127	169	49	454	201
Brahman	124	177	58	430	211	152	195	53	404	196
Chutia (Hindu)	152	211	61	302	184	165	222	53	391	169
Chutia (Animistic)	143	236	67	386	118	174	238	37	404	147
Dhoba...	105	183	59	430	223	122	171	47	446	214
Goala	98	132	45	502	223	130	166	40	494	170
Jugi	143	199	61	399	198	154	193	47	413	193
Kaibarta Chasi (Mahishya)... ...	124	180	59	431	206	146	201	41	415	197
Kachari (Hindu)...	162	188	59	416	175	187	198	71	399	145
Kachari (Animistic)	199	206	55	360	180	211	199	51	378	161
Kalita...	156	202	64	379	199	173	210	51	382	184
Kamar (Hindu)	135	200	59	413	193	140	187	51	471	151
Kayastha	116	177	58	432	217	143	201	48	409	201
Kewat...	161	210	63	366	200	169	214	48	381	188
Koch	160	211	63	374	192	171	210	48	391	180
Kumar	130	186	59	413	212	131	190	42	423	209
Malo	101	157	55	469	218	129	180	39	455	197
Manipuri (Kshattriya)	158	224	60	362	196	157	216	59	368	200
Mikir...	187	208	51	354	200	203	209	50	376	171
Nadial...	169	218	63	374	176	186	222	45	394	153
Namasudra	126	189	56	424	205	148	194	46	429	193
Napit...	125	190	63	406	216	142	199	45	419	195
Patni	125	185	57	429	204	140	179	48	441	192
Rajbansi	149	212	56	391	202	169	190	50	407	184
Sudra	121	191	63	418	207	136	203	41	413	207
Sutradhar	119	195	56	418	212	131	200	48	429	192
Tanti	115	178	59	469	179	133	179	54	524	119
Teli	120	174	61	429	216	123	185	47	439	206

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Proportion of children under 10 *and of persons* 60 *and over to those aged* 15—40 *; also of married females aged* 15—40 *per* 100 *females.*

District and Natural Division.	Proportion of children both sexes per 100.						Proportion of persons 60 and over per 100 aged 15—40.						Number of married females aged 15—40 per 100 females of all ages.		
	Persons aged 15—40.			Married females aged 15—40.			1911.		1901.		1891.				
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	1911.	1901.	1891.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
ASSAM	78	73	79	199	193	202	10	10	9	10	11	12	33	32	32
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	79	74	79	202	198	208	9	9	8	8	10	11	33	32	32
Goalpara	86	85	83	218	223	219	11	12	12	13	14	17	33	31	31
Kamrup	90	90	86	218	216	212	11	12	10	11	12	13	31	31	31
Darrang	69	67	74	178	179	193	7	7	6	6	8	8	35	34	33
Nowgong	88	77	87	220	224	235	10	11	8	10	14	13	30	28	29
Sibsagar	74	67	74	195	185	198	8	7	7	6	8	7	33	34	33
Lakhimpur	67	59	65	177	170	183	6	6	5	5	6	6	37	36	35
SURMA VALLEY	77	73	79	190	186	197	10	10	10	10	12	12	34	33	33
Cachar plains	75	67	72	186	172	182	10	9	9	8	9	9	35	35	33
Sylhet	77	74	80	191	189	200	10	10	11	10	13	13	34	33	32
HILL—	80	72	75	215	199	193	14	14	11	13	11	12	28	30	31
Garo Hills	82	85	81	186	191	186	16	17	13	9	12	10	26	35	35
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	76	71	78	213	204	207	11	14	9	14	13	15	29	28	28
North Cachar	68	80	79	201	156	231	9	9	3	6	14	13	31	37	27
Naga Hills	77	64	67	231	177	174	18	17	11	11	8	8	26	31	34
Manipur	89	82	*	252	209	*	14	15	16	17	*	*	27	20	*
Lushai Hills	65	68	*	216	216	*	13	14	11	13	*	*	23	25	*

* Figures not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Variation in population at certain age periods.

District and Natural Division	Period.	Variation per cent. in population (increase + decrease —).						District and Natural Division	Period.	Variation per cent. in population (increase + decrease —).					
		All ages.	0—10.	10—15.	15—40.	40—60.	60 and over.			All ages.	0—10.	10—15.	15—40.	40—60.	60 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Assam	1881-1891	+10·9	+9·5	+21·2	+11·5	+7·3	+6·1	Cachar plains	1881-1891	+25·2	+19·9	+44·6	+32·4	+17·6	—10·8
	1891-1901	+5·9	+2·8	+5·7	+10·8	+5·4	—11·3		1891-1901	+12·9	+7·5	+20·6	+14·9	+14·4	+6·2
	1901-1911	+15·2	+19·8	+9·8	+12·6	+16·4	+18·8		1901-1911	+13·4	+22·0	—1·4	+9·2	+16·8	+25·9
Brahmaputra Valley	1881-1891	+10·0	+5·9	+22·6	+9·6	+19·5	+18·6	Sylhet ...	1881-1891	+9·5	+11·7	+16·1	+10·9	+·8	—3·2
	1891-1901	+5·8	+3·8	+3·9	+10·6	+3·5	—13·8		1891-1901	+4·6	+·4	+3·9	+8·8	+5·1	—12·5
	1901-1911	+18·7	+22·8	+16·5	+15·9	+17·9	+24·6		1901-1911	+10·3	+14·3	—·9	+9·5	+14·1	+7·8
Goalpara ...	1881-1891	+1·4	+·9	—1·9	—1·1	+5·4	+19·9	Hills ...	1881-1891	+15·4	+15·7	+30·8	+9·1	+17·9	+29·7
	1891-1901	+2·0	+5·5	+1·0	+2·8	—·1	—15·4		1891-1901	+11·2	+4·8	+12·9	+17·7	+10·9	—4·6
	1901-1911	+29·9	+31·3	+28·3	+30·6	+27·7	+25·6		1901-1911	+18·5	+23·8	+27·2	+12·0	+16·7	+29·3
Kamrup ...	1881-1891	—1·6	—6·7	+18·9	—3·5	—2·3	+17·3	Garo Hills ...	1881-1891	†	†	†	†	†	†
	1891-1901	—7·1	—3·9	—11·7	—6·9	—9·0	—21·0		1891-1901	+13·7	+17·8	+21·0	+12·3	+4·4	+8·7
	1901-1911	+13·3	+13·5	+8·7	+13·3	+13·5	+23·8		1901-1911	+14·9	+11·6	+15·6	+15·1	+14·7	+38·7
Darrang ...	1881-1891	+12·9	+2·9	+41·5	+13·1	+18·8	+16·7	Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	1881-1891	+17·9	+17·8	+35·3	+11·7	+20·6	+29·8
	1891-1901	+9·7	+6·3	+9·7	+16·5	+3·5	—12·8		1891-1901	+2·2	—1·8	+7·4	+9·2	—1·9	—24·7
	1901-1911	+11·9	+12·6	+11·4	+11·6	+9·3	+24·9		1901-1911	+16·2	+22·2	+·9	+13·2	+17·2	+43·1
Nowgong ...	1881-1891	+10·4	+10·9	+19·5	+9·6	+4·7	+14·4	North Cachar	1881-1891	—5·9	—1·6	—7·9	—12·2	—5·7	+39·9
	1891-1901	—24·8	—28·6	—24·5	—19·1	—23·9	—45·8		1891-1901	+67·9	+21·0	+53·8	+193·1	+126·9	+3·3
	1901-1911	+16·2	+26·7	+8·6	+10·8	+11·2	+27·9		1901-1911	—33·1	+10·4	—2·1	—50·8	—36·0	+0·3
Sibsagar ...	1881-1891	+22·5	+17·7	+43·2	+19·7	+27·9	+26·7	Naga Hills...	1881-1891	†	†	†	†	†	†
	1891-1901	+24·4	+17·6	+27·3	+29·4	+22·9	+23·5		1891-1901	+5·9	—2·6	+5·7	+3·9	+22·7	+36·5
	1901-1911	+15·4	+22·2	+13·4	+10·9	+17·0	+14·0		1901-1911	+46·1	+54·7	+78·9	+27·8	+47·5	+99·1
Lakhimpur ...	1881-1891	+41·3	+36·6	+40·6	+48·6	+34·7	+17·8	Manipur ...	1881-1891	†	†	†	†	†	†
	1891-1901	+46·2	+38·2	+36·5	+53·5	+49·9	+26·6		1891-1901	†	†	†	†	†	†
	1901-1911	+26·3	+35·7	+31·3	+18·2	+29·3	+43·1		1901-1911	+21·7	+28·0	+43·3	+18·4	+11·8	+4·8
Surma Valley	1881-1891	+11·5	+12·8	+19·3	+13·7	+2·9	—4·1	Lushai Hills	1881-1891	†	†	†	†	†	†
	1891-1901	+5·3	+1·4	+6·1	+9·7	+6·5	—10·3		1891-1901	+88·9	†	†	†	†	†
	1901-1911	+10·8	+15·4	—0·9	+9·5	+14·6	+10·2		1901-1911	+10·6	+3·9	+27·0	+8·8	+14·7	+18·9

† Figures not available.

Note 1.—Unspecified figures are omitted from figures of all ages for 1891.

Note 2.—In the calculation for the Province as a whole and for Natural Divisions those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Reported birth-rate by sex and Natural Divisons.

Year.	Number of births per 1,000 of total population (Census of 1901).					
	Province.		Brahmaputra Valley.		Surma Valley.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1901	18	16	16	15	19	17
1902	18	17	16	15	19	18
1903	18	17	17	16	19	18
1904	18	17	17	16	19	18
1905	19	18	18	17	20	18
1906	18	17	19	18	17	16
1907	18	17	19	18	18	17
1908	20	19	20	19	20	18
1909	18	17	18	17	19	17
1910	19	18	19	18	18	17

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.

Reported death-rate by sex and Natural Divisions.

Year.	Number per 1,000 of total population (Census of 1901).					
	Province.		Brahmaputra Valley.		Surma Valley.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1901	29	27	27	26	30	28
1902	29	29	25	24	34	32
1903	27	26	26	26	27	27
1904	26	26	25	25	27	27
1905	28	28	30	30	27	27
1906	31	31	37	38	24	24
1907	26	25	29	29	23	22
1908	35	35	41	42	30	29
1909	33	33	35	36	31	30
1910	34	35	34	35	34	34

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.

Reported death-rate by sex and age in decade and in selected years per mille living at same age according to the Census of 1901.

Age.	Average of decade.		1903.		1905.		1907.		1909.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
All ages	30	29	27	26	28	28	26	25	33	33
0—5	79	72	72	65	78	71	70	64	87	81
5—10	15	13	12	10	14	12	12	10	18	15
10—15	13	12	11	10	12	12	10	10	14	13
15—20	17	22	15	20	17	22	14	17	18	22
20—40	19	22	17	20	18	21	16	18	19	23
40—60	32	28	28	24	27	24	29	25	39	34
60 and over ...	70	56	64	51	69	57	63	50	86	64

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.

Reported deaths from certain diseases per mille of each sex.

Age.	Whole province.					Actual number of deaths in			
	Actual number of deaths.			Ratio per mille of each sex.		Brahmaputra Valley.		Surma Valley.	
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Cholera—									
1901	7,468	3,944	3,524	1·5	1·4	1,776	1,711	2,168	1,813
1902	12,658	6,328	6,330	2·3	2·5	1,502	1,488	4,826	4,842
1903	8,360	4,326	4,034	1·6	1·6	2,833	2,657	1,493	1,377
1904	5,588	2,857	2,731	1·1	1·1	861	836	1,996	1,895
1905	22,883	11,345	11,538	4·2	4·5	6,254	6,381	5,091	5,157
1906	33,682	16,605	17,077	6·2	6·7	12,696	13,442	3,909	3,635
1907	8,892	4,648	4,244	1·7	1·7	1,487	1,460	3,161	2,784
1908	22,389	11,582	10,807	4·2	4·2	7,323	7,398	4,259	3,409
1909	8,081	4,219	3,862	1·6	1·5	2,005	1,844	2,214	2,018
1910	34,512	17,130	17,382	6·3	6·8	7,171	7,033	9,959	10,349
Small-pox—									
1901	3,274	1,695	1,579	0·6	0·6	318	332	1,377	1,247
1902	6,673	3,409	3,264	1·3	1·3	118	186	3,291	3,078
1903	1,111	570	541	0·2	0·2	172	157	398	384
1904	1,559	798	761	0·3	0·3	760	742	38	19
1905	2,229	1,162	1,067	0·4	0·4	1,149	1,058	13	9
1906	2,994	1,588	1,406	0·6	0·5	1,556	1,384	32	22
1907	4,253	2,269	1,984	0·8	0·8	2,170	1,895	99	89
1908	4,599	2,475	2,124	0·9	0·8	2,338	2,012	137	112
1909	3,113	1,609	1,504	0·6	0·6	1,540	1,449	69	55
1910	1,927	970	957	0·4	0·4	860	831	110	126
Fevers—									
1901	83,696	44,755	38,941	16·5	15·2	25,769	22,743	18,986	16,198
1902	77,679	41,732	35,947	15·3	14·1	23,961	20,970	17,771	14,977
1903	75,904	39,666	36,338	14·6	13·8	23,829	21,195	15,837	14,143
1904	71,171	37,503	33,668	13·8	13·2	23,098	20,784	14,405	12,884
1905	67,651	35,518	32,133	13·1	12·6	23,081	20,757	12,437	11,376
1906	70,693	37,266	33,427	13·7	13·1	24,891	22,265	12,375	11,162
1907	74,147	38,642	35,505	14·2	13·9	25,386	23,433	13,256	12,072
1908	97,961	50,492	47,469	18·6	18·6	31,424	30,102	19,068	17,367
1909	103,430	53,974	49,456	19·9	19·3	31,193	29,250	22,781	20,206
1910	87,380	45,483	41,897	16·7	16·4	26,153	24,424	19,330	17,473

CHAPTER VI.

SEX.

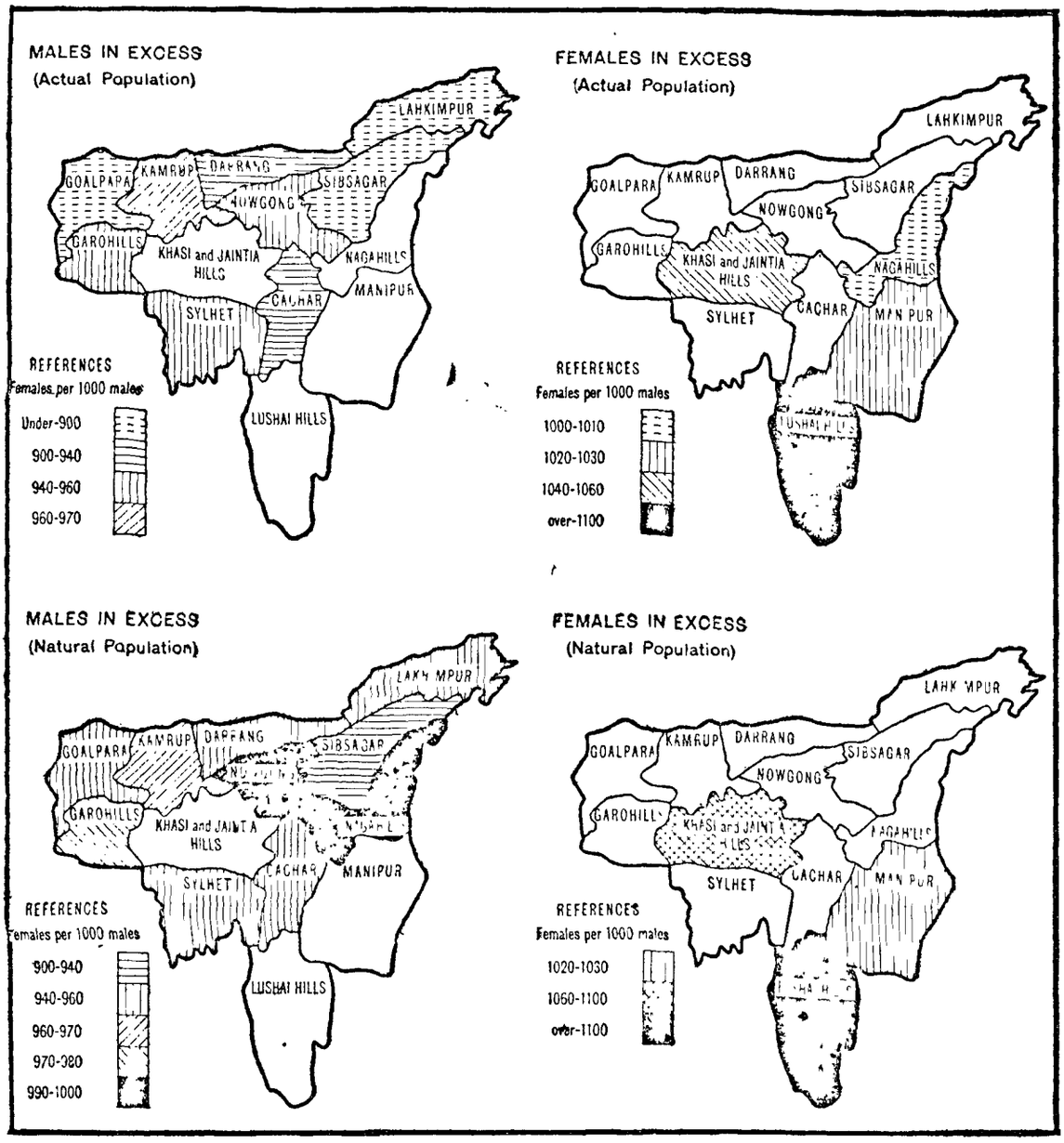
General proportion of the sexes.

65. The number of females per mille of males in Assam is 940: in India as a whole it is 963. To persons accustomed to European statistics these proportions are somewhat startling. If we exclude the south-eastern corner, there is an excess of females in every country of Europe: for example, at the census of 1911 for every thousand males there were 1,068 females in England and Wales, 1,063 in Scotland, 1,004 in Ireland, 1,031 in Denmark, and, at the census of 1910, 1,026 in Germany. But in Servia, Bulgaria, Roumania and Greece the proportion of females varies from 946 to 986, and as one goes further eastwards the number of women seems to continue low: in 1907 the Egyptian census showed 992 females to a thousand males and in 1897 those of the Caucasus and Siberia showed 897 and 955, respectively. In the United States of America the proportion of females in 1910 was 943: this is usually explained as being exceptional and due to the great number of males amongst the immigrants, but it appears that amongst the native white population born of native parents there are 104 males for every 100 females, while the negro population shows a slight preponderance of females. There is no doubt that some part of the excess of females in western Europe is due to the greater emigration of men, but we are left with the facts that the European statistics of sex as a whole are in direct opposition to those for India in general and Assam in particular. It may be objected that the population of Assam owes so much to immigration that the actual figures should not be accepted as representing the normal, but if we turn to those of the natural population, we find that the position is not so very different, though there is an increase from 940 to 963 in the proportion of females to 1,000 of the other sex.

Proportions by locality.

66. Taking actual population we find in Subsidiary Table I statistics generally corresponding to those of the province as a whole for the plains, where the female proportions are 913 in the Brahmaputra Valley and 943 in the Surma Valley; on the other hand, the figures of the Hills show the substantial female excess of 26 per mille of males. The very great effect of immigration in the Brahmaputra Valley is clear from the fact that the number of females rises from the actual figure of 913 to 952 for the natural population: in the Surma Valley there is a corresponding increase from 943 to 948 and in the Hills from 1,026 to 1,040. The actual proportion of women is below 900 in Goalpara, Sibsagar, and Lakhimpur, is just 900 in Darrang and only 910 in Cachar: these are districts which contain large numbers of immigrants, *vide* Subsidiary Table III to Chapter III, and if we exclude Sibsagar, the statistics for natural population raise the proportion of females to figures ranging from 944 in Lakhimpur to 959 in Cachar, but the number of district born females in Sibsagar remains extraordinarily low. Males are also in excess in the actual population of Sylhet, Garo Hills, Nowgong and Kamrup, the proportion of females varying from 949 to 968: in Garo Hills and Nowgong the figures for natural population show female increases of 17 and 40 per mille of males respectively, but in Sylhet and Kamrup there are reductions, respectively from 949 to 946 and from 968 to 964, which are due to the greater emigration of males to neighbouring districts, as will be seen from the sex proportions given in Subsidiary Table II to Chapter III; it may be noted with regard to these two districts that the same results with more glaring contrasts appeared at the last census also. The statistics of Garo Hills are somewhat confused owing to the difference in the

populations of the hills and the plains mauzas ; in each of the other hill districts there is in the actual population an excess of females which is changed to a small defect for natural population in Naga Hills on account, here also, of male emigration.



Proportions by religion and caste.

67. Subsidiary Tables II and III enable us to compare the sex proportions in the main religions. In the province as a whole the actual proportion of women is 922 among Hindus, 930 among Muhammadans and 1,022 among Animists, and the relative positions of the three religions in this respect are unchanged since 1891 for the province: taking the natural population only, the proportions rise to 955, 952 and 1,030 respectively. When we turn to locality, we find that it is only in the Surma Valley that the Muhammadan proportion of females exceeds that of Hindus, both in actual and natural population; in the Hills the majority of the local people are Animists or Hindus not far removed from Animism and so we find a preponderance of females amongst Hindus in the natural population. In all three natural divisions women are most numerous among Animists and are in excess amongst them in natural as well as actual population, except in the Brahmaputra Valley, where the influence of Hinduism has exactly the same effect as Animism on the so-called Hindus of the Hills.

Subsidiary Table IV gives the proportions of females for selected castes native to the province, but those for Brahmans, Baidyas, Kayasthas, Goalas, Tantis and Telis are probably affected by immigration and may be left out of account. Excluding Khasis, Kukis and Lushais, which reproduce the Animistic excess of females, we find that the only purely native caste in which the males are in a minority is the Manipur Kshattriya, which is not very different from Animist tribes in customs concerning

females. The castes have been divided into three groups based on the rules of social precedence which were prescribed in the last Census Report. I do not think that we can draw any exact inferences from the figures as they stand: the proportion of females is only 903 and 909 amongst the Sutradhars and the Chasi Kaibarttas against 922 amongst the Malos and 963 amongst the Baruis of the Surma Valley, while in the Brahmaputra Valley it is only 921 amongst the Kalitas in comparison with 960 amongst the Koches and 976 amongst the Nadials. Perhaps on the whole we may conclude that generally there is a tendency for females to be more numerous in the lower castes than in the higher and in the Brahmaputra Valley than in the rest of the plains: but the statistics show exceptions, *e.g.*, the proportions in the Bhuinmali, Malo, Namasudra and Sutradhar—all inferior castes of the Surma Valley—are low, and so are those of the Ahoms and Chutias of the Brahmaputra Valley. The age statistics of castes are discussed in the following paragraph.

Proportions at different ages.

68. In Subsidiary Tables II, III and IV the statistics are given by age-periods. We have an apparent excess of females up to the age of 5, but between 5 and 10 an excess of males, which is further accentuated between 10—15; at the next two quinquennial periods females are in excess, but are again in defect between 25 and 30. These features hold good for the province, for each natural division, excluding the Hills in the last period, and, if we except Animists in the same period and Hindus and Muhammadans in the Hills, where their actual statistics are vitiated by immigration, for each main religion also in every part of the province. The net result is that up to 30 years of age females are in slight excess in the total population, in marked excess among Animists, almost on an equality with males among Muhammadans, and in considerable defect among Hindus: the excess among Animists is reproduced in each natural division, there is a moderate excess of Muhammadan females in the Surma Valley, while the defect among Hindus is more marked in the Brahmaputra Valley, where immigration has an important effect. After 30 we find an excess of males in the total population, which is true for each natural division and for each religion in the province, but there is a moderate excess of females in the Animists of the Hills: it is only in the period of 60 and over that the proportion of females is high, but it is greater than that of males only among Hindus and Animists, of whom the former show excesses of females in the Surma Valley and the Hills and the latter in the Hills only.

The caste statistics reproduce the above figures on the whole. It is only amongst the Telis, Dhobas, Garos, Kumhars and Manipuri Kshattriyas that males are more numerous in the first quinquennial period. Between 5 and 12 females are in excess amongst the Baidyas, Goalas, Chasi Kaibarttas, Napits, Telis, Kumhars, Lushais and Malos; but they are in marked defect amongst the Bhuinmalis, Dhobas and Rajbansis. Between 12 and 15, the age of the young bride in the Surma Valley and amongst the high castes of the Brahmaputra Valley, the proportion of girls is very low and is above 900 only amongst the Tantis, Kacharis, Kukis and Mikirs of the castes which agree with the majority in showing a defect of females, while males are in a minority only among the Garos, Khasis, Lushais, and Manipuri Kshattriyas. In the following five years females are mostly in excess and are in a marked minority only amongst the Chasi Kaibarttas, Kalitas and Kewats. Between 20 and 40 the latter caste shows a large excess of females, but the proportion amongst Chasi Kaibarttas continues very low: the general tendency is for the males to predominate, but they are in a minority amongst the Kamars, Kewats, Koches, Tantis, Garos, Khasis, Kukis, Kumhars, Lushais, Manipuri Kshattriyas and Nadials: of the indigenous castes unaffected by immigration males are in a large majority amongst the Chasi Kaibarttas, Ahoms, Malos and Sutradhars. Over 40, women are in defect except among the Khasis, who show an excess at every age period except 5—12, the Lushais, whose females are in a majority at every period of life, and the Manipuri Kshattriyas, amongst whom there is a slight deficiency of girls up to 12 years of age.

A reference to the statistics of marriage amongst Hindu castes, which are discussed in the following chapter, will show that the proportion of married girls aged 5—12 is exceptionally high amongst the Bhuimalis, Dhobas and Rajbansis—three castes which show a marked defect of females at this age; in the five others castes mentioned as containing a high proportion of such young wives, *i.e.*, Patni, Teli, Namasudra, Barui and Malo, we find a very marked deficiency of girls between 5 and 12 except in the Teli and Malo, which have excesses. I think that it is not an unreasonable inference to make from these figures that there is a tendency among Hindu castes to conceal the real age of a girl approaching the age of marriage. This would explain the deficiency of females during the nuptial age periods: the tendency is quite

natural and it is not surprising to find it intensified amongst Muhammadans and appearing among Animists even in the Hills, though those who are free from Hindu influences, such as the Garos, Khasis, Lushais, and the Manipuri Kshattriyas have no prejudices on this point. If the cause were a tendency to conceal the existence of females, we should expect to find a deficiency of young women among Muhammadans, but the figures for them in the Surma Valley, where we are relieved from the necessity of considering the effect of migration, show an excess of females up to 30 years of age.

Census results and vital statistics.

69. In Subsidiary Tables V and VI are given (1) the actual number of births and deaths reported in the plains for either sex in the last two decades and (2) the number of deaths by sex at different ages between 1905 and 1909. From what I have said in paragraph 64 of the last chapter it is clear that, though our vital statistics are very inaccurate, they indicate broad facts, but it should not be forgotten that they apply to the plains only: without therefore examining the figures in great detail, we can deduce from them some general inferences. Firstly, we may assume that more males are born than females, the proportion of the latter being 929 per mille of males between 1891 and 1900 and 934 in the last decade: these figures are a trifle below the standard accepted for Europe (948), so that we have apparently in Assam a greater number of male births, but I would not place too much stress on the exact figure and would rest content with the broad fact. Secondly, it appears that there are more deaths amongst males than amongst females, but the mortality proportion of the latter per mille of male deaths varied from 883 between 1891 and 1900 to 928 in the last decade, when the proportion of females at birth was only 6 per mille of males more than at death: it is not impossible that female mortality was not so fully reported before 1900 as in the last ten years, but we may assume a tendency to greater mortality amongst males: this also agrees with European statistics.

Looking to the age statistics in Subsidiary Table VI, we find a moderate excess of female deaths between 1 and 5 and large excesses at the age periods 15—20 and 20—30: these proportions, it will be noted, are repeated in every year. Here we are faced with the double chance of inaccuracy, *i.e.*, in the reported number of deaths and in the reported ages, but again I should accept the salient figures as approximately correct in indicating greater mortality amongst females, at least in the child-bearing period.

The question now arises as to how we can reconcile the proportions given in the census figures with those of the vital statistics. In every part of the province we have found an excess of females up to 5, and, as the only objection raised by European critics to our sex proportions is based on the supposed omission of females, an excess of the latter is not in itself a matter of suspicion. This being so, it might follow that the excess of males at birth is changed to a defect at an earlier period than in Europe, where females do not begin to predominate before the age of fifteen: the cause of the change in proportions is due to the relatively greater mortality amongst males at the earlier years of life, which is an established fact in every country. It is more probable, however, that the cause of the apparent excess of females up to 5 years of age is the deliberate misstatement of the ages of girls who have not yet reached the age of marriage. Special enquiries were made as to whether female children are as well cared for as males: in the Brahmaputra Valley and the Hills, where the custom of bride price is common, a girl is in many ways more desirable than a boy; but there is no doubt that amongst Hindus a girl is always looked on more or less as an alien to the family, because on marriage she leaves the clan and so is called *parerjan* or belonging to a stranger. There is a proverb which says that a daugter's son holds an umbrella over the funeral pyre of his maternal grand-parents, but a son's son lives through eternity, *i.e.*, the duty of a daughter's son ends with the death of the grand-parents, but the duty of a son's son lasts for ever. There is no question of there being any traces of infanticide now, but there is an undoubted tendency among people in the plains to be less careful of female infants than of males: the desire for male children, which is common in every country, is intensified among Hindus by their religious obligations and among Muhammadans by their religious belief. We can then infer from this fact and from the excess of male births that the predominance of females up to 5 disclosed by the census figures is not correct; indeed it is not improbable that the excess of female deaths between 1 and 5 shown by the vital statistics more nearly represents facts, because there is no special reason why the age of the dead should be deliberately concealed.

Once we get beyond the marriageable age the tendency is to exaggerate the age of the bride : we have excesses of females in the age periods 15—20 and 20—25 and apparently a much greater mortality amongst women between 15 and 30. Here again I should be inclined to infer that the ages given in the death statistics are probably nearer the truth, and the obvious inference is that child bearing in immature wives, who are handicapped by the climate of the plains, leads to a high death-rate.

Causes of the proportions.

70. The conclusions arrived at above are that there is a tendency to be less careful of female infants than of males and that there is a high mortality of females in the child-bearing period. The latter may be due to premature sexual intercourse, unskilful midwifery, abortion, *e.g.*, in the case of pregnant widows, wrong treatment of women at puberty, during the menstrual periods and after child-birth, the hard life of widows where their re-marriage is forbidden, and the hard labour which women of the lower classes are compelled to perform. It is argued however by certain German critics that, important as these factors are, they are not sufficient to account for the defect of females and they point to (i) the probability of the omission of females from the census owing to the reticence of certain classes regarding their womenfolk, (ii) the fact that in India there has been at each successive enumeration up to 1901 a rise in the proportion of females, (iii) the low proportion of females at certain ages when omissions would *a priori* be expected, and (iv) the fact that vital statistics show a greater mortality amongst males.

With regard to (i) there is less reason in Assam than anywhere else to expect the omission of females, who even in the plains, except among the higher classes of Hindus and Muhammadans, freely go out and, among the lower Hindu castes in the Surma Valley and among all except the highest in the upper Brahmaputra Valley, help their husbands in transplanting the paddy and in the latter area in reaping also : we have also found an excess of young women up to 30 in the Surma Valley among Muhammadans, who would be the most likely to conceal their females. In the Hills there is an entire absence of *purdah* of any kind. I think, therefore, that we can safely neglect this possibility. Objection (ii) falls to the ground at the present census, as far as Assam is concerned, for there is a decline in the proportion of females both in the actual and natural population and in each main religion since 1901. It was argued in paragraph 110 of the last Census Report that there is probability in the theory that women are better able than men to survive periods of unhealthiness and that the rise in the proportion of females then disclosed was due to the insanitary conditions of the previous decade : the same theory was put forward in paragraph 201 of the last India Census Report, where it was claimed that women can withstand the effects of famine better than men. The fact that the last decade has been healthy and that there has been a concomitant decline in the proportion of women seems to add weight to the arguments put forward on behalf of this theory. We have already considered objection (iii) above, where the inaccuracy of the age returns was referred to, and we found also an excessive mortality at the ages in question : Subsidiary Table II shows successive increases since 1891 in the proportions of females at the age periods 5—10 and 10—15, in spite of the general decline within the last ten years ; the critics assume that the improvement up to 1901 was due to the gradual disappearance of the concealment of females, but the increase in the period 10—15 combined with a decrease between 15 and 20, cannot be attributed to this cause, and all that can be inferred is that there is a tendency towards greater accuracy in the age statistics, which is particularly noticeable in the period 10-15 amongst Hindus. Finally, with regard to objection (iv) we find that the vital statistics of the decade 1891—1900 show a slightly smaller proportion of female births and a very large deficiency in the proportion of female deaths in comparison with the figures of the last decade. This rise in female mortality exactly fits in with the theory mentioned above regarding the resisting power of women in seasons of calamity and seems to confirm it. The general results of the vital statistics for the last twenty years are that the excess of the proportion of female births over female deaths per mille male occurrences had declined from 46 to 6 in the last decade, which points to a decrease in the proportion of females and this is exactly what we find. So that, allowing for certain inaccuracies in the return of ages at the census, we must conclude that the vital statistics, in spite of their want of precision, agree generally with the variations disclosed in the census figures.

On the whole, then, we may conclude that the census statistics of sex proportions are correct. Women are in defect in the plains and there is not much doubt as to the reality of the causes, which have been detailed above. The very low proportion of

females in the natural population of Sibsagar, which, though it shows a small increase since 1901, is still most remarkable, was attributed in the last Census Report more especially to the injurious effects on women of stooping in the muddy paddy fields during the work of transplanting in July and August. This explanation covered the district of Lakhimpur also, but it was not particularly necessary in that district nor is it now, because the proportion of females there is not much lower than in Sylhet and in 1901 was actually greater for natural population. I think that it will not be disputed that many more women work in the paddy fields during the rains in Sibsagar than in Lakhimpur, where a high proportion of the working women are employed in tea gardens, and I am inclined to accept Mr. Allen's theory as being applicable to Sibsagar mainly.

There remains the curious fact that females are in a majority in the Hills generally. Perhaps the most obvious explanation of this is that the hill tribes are not burdened with the custom of early marriage or an unfavourable climate. The officers in charge of Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Lushai Hills were specially requested to report any local causes which would account for the excess of females: the former considered that the intemperate habits of the men may have had some effect in shortening their lives, and the latter thought that it was due to excessive mortality amongst males up to 20, which he inferred from such vital occurrences as were reported. It will be noted that in every part of the Hills, except in Naga Hills for actual and natural population and in Lushai Hills for actual population only, the proportion of women has declined since the last census. In Khasi and Jaintia Hills this may be due to a return to healthy conditions, but I can only attribute the decline in the other districts to variations in the proportions of the sexes at birth.

Causation of sex.

71. The last point brings us to a consideration of the causes influencing sex. These are exceedingly obscure, but that there are variations in sex proportions at birth is undoubted, *e.g.*, in Scotland the proportion of female infants rose from 945 to 955 between 1870 and 1900 and fell in Ireland from 951 to 944 in the same period. One of the most recent theories is that of Ewart published in *Nature* of the 5th January 1911, according to which it would appear that there is a tendency in women over 28 to produce boys and in those below that age to produce girls. The theory is based on the statistics of a small area and tends to show that the variations are due to an attempt on the part of nature to equalise the numbers of the sexes. Where women are in a majority there is no need for haste on the part of the men to marry and consequently they will not take a partner before thirty: they are then more likely to mate with women a few years younger than themselves and the result is an excess of male births. When women are in a minority, a man must get a young wife or be left without one and hence more girls are born. In paragraph 82 of the next chapter dealing with birth customs will be found a few Indian ideas on the subject.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

General proportions of the sexes by natural divisions and districts.

Districts and natural divisions.	Number of females to 1,000 males.							
	1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.	
	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual populaton.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASSAM	940	963	949	966	942	969	953	966
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	913	952	924	963	923	957	931	954
Goalpara ...	883	955	904	953	912	973	947	969
Kamrup ...	968	964	1,012	978	976	966	947	962
Darrang ...	900	947	916	976	907	953	919	943
Nowgong ...	959	999	964	1,016	936	957	936	944
Sibsagar ...	892	915	886	925	902	930	903	923
Lakhimpur ...	883	944	861	945	863	935	867	956
SURMA VALLEY ...	943	948	947	941	943	962	957	965
Cachar ...	910	959	866	972	898	974	880	979
Sylhet	949	946	965	937	957	961	969	963
HILLS	1,026	1,040	1,037	1,061	1,019	1,080	1,022	1,049
Garo Hills ...	956	973	974	993	986	1,075	958	979
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	1,054	1,097	1,080	1,113	1,092	1,119	1,104	1,129
Naga Hills ...	1,002	997	982	988	1,035	982	973	999
Manipur ...	1,029	1,033	1,037	1,054	969	761	1,018	889
Lushai Hills ...	1,120	1,159	1,113	1,189	911	1,005	—	...

N.B.—The figures given for natural population in 1891 and 1881 exclude the emigrants to other provinces: and those given for 1901 include extra-provincial emigrants to Bengal only.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Number of females per 1,000 *males at different age periods by religions at each of the last three censuses.*

Age.	All religions.			Hindus.			Musalmans.			Animists.		
	1891.	1901.	1911.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1891.	1901.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
0—1	1,022	1,016	1,004	1,021	1,005	1,005	1,018	1,023	989	1,032	1,038	1,027
1—2	1,050	1,030	1,042	1,056	1,032	1,019	1,038	1,043	1,060	1,051	1,051	1,077
2—3	1,065	1,062	1,061	1,058	1,060	1,058	1,081	1,047	1,070	1,057	1,087	1,076
3—4	1,064	1,062	1,067	1,069	1,063	1,078	1,074	1,073	1,067	1,040	1,042	1,038
4—5	1,033	1,030	1,023	1,033	1,032	1,013	1,025	1,019	1,025	1,044	1,040	1,044
Total 0—5 ...	1,046	1,041	1,039	1,046	1,037	1,036	1,048	1,040	1,040	1,045	1,052	1,047
5—10	978	978	983	981	977	982	987	987	988	952	969	981
10—15	801	811	817	778	790	823	777	763	740	935	943	938
15—20	1,074	1,113	1,072	993	1,040	1,010	1,155	1,184	1,117	1,241	1,264	1,210
20—25	1,155	1,222	1,174	1,086	1,171	1,105	1,225	1,250	1,249	1,323	1,397	1,323
25—30	990	986	994	968	969	964	971	935	986	1,124	1,173	1,136
Total 0—30 ...	996	1,008	1,002	972	989	983	1,004	1,001	999	1,064	1,087	1,072
30—40	822	805	817	819	782	804	770	759	761	920	971	958
40—50	795	802	769	784	783	747	761	766	736	887	913	886
50—60	826	872	836	820	867	836	837	847	812	837	927	872
60 and over ...	1,012	1,008	974	1,026	1,046	1,002	1,000	895	890	990	1,057	1,007
Total 30 and over ...	839	836	824	834	822	814	810	791	778	907	958	930
Total all ages (actual population).	942	949	940	923	929	922	943	936	930	1,009	1,042	1,022
Total all ages (natural population).*	969	966	963	†	†	955	†	†	952	†	†	1,039

*N.B.—The figures given for natural population, total in 1891 and by religions in 1911, exclude emigrants to other provinces, and those given for 1901 include extra-provincial emigrants to Bengal only.

† Figures not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Number of females per 1,000 *males at different age period by religion and natural division (census of* 1911).

Age.	Brahmaputra Valley.				Surma Valley.				Hills.			
	All religions.	Hindu.	Muhammadan.	Animist.	All religions.	Hindu.	Muhammadan.	Animist.	All religions.	Hindu.	Muhammadan.	Animist.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
0—1	1,013	1,007	1,006	1,042	997	1,010	987	1,029	998	961	900	1,013
1—2	1,026	1,016	1,030	1,053	1,053	1,035	1,063	1,504	1,065	1,001	1,017	1,097
2—3	1,052	1,048	1,069	1,059	1,076	1,053	1,071	1,143	1,044	1,018	1,067	1,051
3—4	1,075	1,071	1,090	1,081	1,079	1,100	1,064	1,057	1,012	1,041	944	1,002
4—5	1,023	1,017	1,016	1,048	1,018	1,005	1,027	1,045	1,038	1,021	1,027	1,042
Total 0—5 ...	1,038	1,033	1,046	1,057	1,043	1,047	1,039	1,091	1,029	1,009	984	1,036
5—10	964	968	960	955	998	1,004	994	1,019	908	984	1,000	1,004
10—15	827	827	731	907	760	785	739	898	963	975	849	904
15—20	1,005	966	1,017	1,193	1,107	1,066	1,145	1,283	1,155	1,041	944	1,220
20—25	1,138	1,112	1,131	1,306	1,209	1,133	1,289	1,463	1,174	900	713	1,333
25—30	982	974	914	1,035	987	965	1,010	1,028	1,070	865	667	1,177
Total 0—30 ...	987	978	960	1,052	1,003	995	1,010	1,095	1,048	970	884	1,088
30—40	787	787	690	868	809	832	783	913	960	802	589	1,039
40—50	707	708	653	760	776	774	768	683	953	876	603	991
50—60	774	779	775	765	867	862	824	969	964	989	715	959
60 and over ...	960	975	927	939	944	1,006	881	978	1,076	1,162	897	1,044
Total 30 and over ...	779	781	714	823	825	849	797	855	976	901	637	1,013
Total all ages population (actual).	913	907	878	975	943	941	945	1,007	1,023	948	805	1,061
Total all ages* (natural population).	952	951	947	955	948	949	953	1,071	1,040	1,015	915	1,061

* *N. B.*—See note to Subsidiary Table II regarding figures given for natural population.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Number of females per 1,000 *males for certain selected castes and tribes.*

Caste or tribe.	Number of females per 1,000 males.						
	All ages.	0—5.	5—12.	12—15.	15—20.	20—40.	40 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
GROUP I.							
Brahman	821	1,010	905	740	908	741	762
GROUP II.							
Baidya	840	1,066	1,002	547	1,000	783	671
Barui	963	1,047	979	802	1,121	988	883
Goala	792	1,050	1,002	699	1,002	749	604
Kaibartta Chasi (Mahishya) ...	909	1,076	1,010	636	870	875	871
Kalita	921	1,024	957	724	804	960	855
Kamar	932	1,013	918	857	1,280	1,000	769
Kayastha	862	1,061	973	686	979	779	890
Kewat	961	1,015	973	737	849	1,040	902
Koch	960	1,027	956	738	964	1,013	890
Napit	952	1,093	1,007	699	1,032	982	866
Rajbansi	946	1,070	880	851	1,105	955	861
Sudra	928	1,058	995	605	951	923	937
Tanti	1,015	1,102	970	924	1,085	1,140	673
Teli	950	975	1,000	722	1,158	931	908
GROUP III.							
Ahom	937	1,054	960	887	1,093	880	845
Bhuinmali	921	1,060	838	748	1,075	939	879
Chutia	940	1,021	987	813	1,046	912	863
Dhoba	945	740	887	747	1,266	918	910
Garo	989	949	903	1,044	1,423	1,117	749
Jugi	964	1,039	937	740	1,055	985	941
Kachari	978	1,042	942	939	1,254	928	844
Khasi	1,117	1,075	991	1,009	1,255	1,191	1,124
Kuki	1,074	1,006	943	939	1,194	1,142	935
Kumhar	978	981	1,001	699	1,004	1,015	966
Lushai	1,213	1,124	1,143	1,091	1,273	1,282	1,249
Malo	922	1,176	1,058	656	944	884	833
Manipuri (Kshattriya) ...	1,028	997	970	1,002	1,019	1,027	1,031
Mikir	959	1,041	974	942	1,100	996	818
Nadial	976	1,074	994	686	1,064	1,029	818
Namasudra	931	1,089	907	757	1,087	910	880
Patni	954	1,068	974	705	1,162	939	898
Sutradhar	903	1,000	928	766	1,060	884	815

N. B.—The figures for Brahmans, Baidyas, Kayasthas, Goalas, Tantis and Telis are probably affected by immigration.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Actual number of births and deaths reported for each sex during the decades 1891—1900 *and* 1901—1910.

Year.	Number of births.			Number of deaths.			Difference between columns 2 and 3. Excess of latter over former (+), defect (—).	Difference between columns 5 and 6. Excess of latter over former (+), defect (—).	Difference between columns 4 and 7. Excess of former over latter (+), defect (—).	Number of female births per 1,000 male births.	Number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1891	74,721	68,827	143,548	79,449	70,707	150,156	— 5,894	— 8,742	— 6,608	921	890
1892	80,951	74,958	155,909	90,398	81,386	171,784	— 5,993	— 9,012	—15,875	926	900
1893	78,912	72,469	151,391	81,667	70,414	152,081	— 6,453	—11,253	— 690	918	862
1894	81,074	75,079	156,153	81,783	72,303	154,091	— 5,995	— 9,485	+ 2,062	926	884
1895	80,644	74,987	155,631	89,931	79,373	169,304	— 5,657	—10,558	—13,673	930	883
1896	87,670	81,552	169,172	97,130	85,287	182,417	— 6,068	—11,843	—13,245	931	878
1897	85,005	78,612	163,617	132,774	121,319	254,093	— 6,393	—11,455	—90,476	925	914
1898	76,670	71,219	147,889	97,447	84,080	181,527	— 5,451	—13,367	—33,638	929	863
1899	92,135	86,892	179,027	84,460	72,135	156,595	— 5,243	—12,325	+22,432	943	854
1900	95,000	89,427	184,427	85,725	75,906	161,631	— 5,573	— 9,819	+22,796	941	885
Total 1891—1900 ...	832,747	774,023	1,606,764	920,769	812,910	1,733,679	—58,720	—107,859	—126,915	929	883
1901	93,078	86,211	179,289	77,503	69,436	146,939	— 6,867	— 8,067	+32,350	926	896
1902	93,146	87,229	180,475	80,098	72,972	153,070	— 5,817	— 7,126	+27,405	938	911
1903	96,877	90,792	187,669	72,613	67,456	140,069	— 6,085	— 5,157	+47,600	937	929
1904	96,761	90,778	187,539	70,507	65,885	136,392	— 5,983	— 4,622	+51,147	938	934
1905	99,584	93,087	192,671	77,235	72,765	150,000	— 6,497	— 4,470	+42,671	935	942
1906	95,236	88,864	184,100	83,122	78,421	161,543	— 6,372	— 4,701	+22,557	933	943
1907	96,993	91,786	188,779	70,366	64,658	135,024	— 5,207	— 5,708	+53,755	946	919
1908	105,128	97,611	202,739	96,051	89,840	185,891	— 7,517	— 6,211	+16,848	928	935
1909	97,470	90,112	187,582	90,618	83,159	173,777	— 7,358	— 7,459	+13,805	925	918
1910	99,591	93,111	192,702	92,986	88,331	181,317	— 6,480	— 4,655	+11,385	935	950
Total 1901—1910, Assam.	973,864	909,681	1,883,545	811,099	752,923	1,564,022	—64,183	—58,176	+319,523	934	928
Brahmaputra Valley	474,708	444,511	919,219	422,019	391,186	813,205	—30,197	—30,833	+106,014	936	927
Surma Valley ...	499,156	465,170	964,326	389,080	361,737	750,817	—33,986	—27,343	+213,509	932	930

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Number of deaths of each sex at different ages.

Age.	1905.		1906.		1907.		1908.		1909.		Total.		Average number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.
	Males	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
0—1	18,505	16,746	18,471	16,390	16,728	15,163	20,963	18,626	18,[illegible]	17,823	94,297	85,048	902
1—5	11,546	11,[illegible]2	12,[illegible]1	12,[illegible]8	10,169	10,[illegible]6	14,114	15,[illegible]9	12,[illegible]0	14,[illegible]0	62,787	64,824	1,032
5—10... ...	6,057	4,[illegible]8	7,[illegible]6	5,977	5,129	4,141	7,981	6,670	7	5,961	34,[illegible]76	27,[illegible]7	816
10—15 ...	3,[illegible]50	3,[illegible]5	4,[illegible]03	3,508	3,151	2,481	4,632	3,501	4	3,104	21,[illegible]36	15,[illegible]00	761
15—20 ...	3,[illegible]86	4,[illegible]8	5,[illegible]61	5,[illegible]2	2,798	3,[illegible]76	3,[illegible]88	5,[illegible]47	5	4,884	17,450	24,[illegible]31	1,389
20—30 ...	7,794	11,[illegible]8	8,[illegible]20	11,980	6,451	[illegible],[illegible]49	9,152	12,[illegible]6	7	11,360	39,[illegible]17	56,[illegible]86	1,422
30—40 ...	8,[illegible]78	7,[illegible]	9,179	8,1[illegible]4	7,857	6,744	10,657	9,7[illegible]6	9	8,401	45,[illegible]48	3[illegible],[illegible]60	871
40—50 ...	5,[illegible]82	3,[illegible]0	[illegible],[illegible]89	4,706	6,[illegible]5	4,[illegible]15	8,[illegible]35	6,[illegible]16	8	5,[illegible]26	35,[illegible]04	24,[illegible]79	685
50—60 ...	4,981	3,812	[illegible],727	4,[illegible]38	5,[illegible]46	5,[illegible]55	7,350	5,[illegible]02	7	5,123	30,[illegible]73	22,[illegible]80	736
60 and over ...	6,[illegible]86	5,[illegible]9	[illegible],[illegible]10	5,273	6,422	5,[illegible]04	8,[illegible]16	6,274	8,	6,[illegible]48	37,[illegible]04	28,[illegible]58	772

CHAPTER VII.

CIVIL CONDITION.

General.

72. The main statistics concerning civil condition are contained in Imperial Table VII and XIV, the former combining it with age and religion and the latter with age and caste. There are five subsidiary tables at the end of this chapter, which will be referred to below in their appropriate places. Several peculiarities of the statistics connected with marriage in India occur at once to persons acquainted only with European customs. These are the universality of marriage, the prevalence of early marriage, particularly amongst females, and the large proportion of widows.

At first sight it would seem that in Assam there is nothing very specially noteworthy, at least as far as males are concerned; Subsidiary Table I shows that 55 per cent. of the males are unmarried, while in England in 1901 the number of bachelors was only 6 per cent. greater. But the percentage of spinsters is only 42 per cent. in Assam against 59 per cent. in England, and when we go further and examine the age statistics, we see that in Assam most of the unmarried males are under 20 and most of the spinsters are under 15. A glance at the figures in Subsidiary Table III for all religions will show that 60 per cent. of the males between 15 and 40 are married and that only 3 per cent. of those over 40 are unmarried: amongst females 27 per cent. of those aged 10—15 and 80 per cent. of those between 15 and 40 are married and less than 1 per cent. of those over 40 remain single. In Prussia in 1900 there were no males and only 4 females per mille married under 20, while 47 per cent. of the men and 37 per cent. of the women between 20 and 40 were still single. Perhaps the most striking feature of the statistics is the large number of widows: Subsidiary Table I shows that out of 1,000 women in Assam 162 are widows, while in England at the 1901 census there were only 74 widows per mille. These peculiarities of marriage statistics are not so pronounced in Assam as they are in other provinces of India: for example, in Bengal in 1901 only 48 per cent. of the males and 32 per cent. of the females were unmarried, and the proportion of widows per mille of females was 199. The main reason for this lies in the fact that the marriage customs in vogue in the Brahmaputra Valley and the Hills are somewhat different from what may be regarded as those typical of India.

Subsidiary Table II shows that in the Surma Valley the number of unmarried females per mille is 57 less than the proportion in the Brahmaputra Valley and 88 less than that of the Hills, and that while the number of married women is not very much higher than in the other two divisions, the proportion of widows is considerably greater and is 30 per mille above the provincial figure. The statistics of religions for the province show that the Buddhists are the most married and show the smallest proportion of widows and the largest of widowers, but they form only a small community and cannot be taken as typical. The greatest number of widows, 188 per mille, is found amongst Hindus, who are followed in order by Muhammadans, Animists and Christians. There are more married women amongst Muhammadans than in any other of the main religions and the number of spinsters is highest in the Christian community, though the Animists are not far behind. The large extent of widowhood amongst Hindus is due partly to the tender age of the brides and partly to the prohibition of widow marriage; but, as will be explained below, these customs do not prevail in Assam as much as they do in other parts of India. The preponderance of married women amongst Muhammadans arises from the fact that, like Hindus, their girls are married young, but their widows are not prevented from accepting a second partner in life. Animists and Christians are similar to Muhammadans in that they have no objection to a wife who is not a virgin, but they are differentiated by postponing the marriage of their womanfolk until they have reached the period of adolescence.

Hindus.

73. Subsidiary Table III shows that in 10,000 Hindus of either sex 5 males and 43 females below ten years of age are married and 2 females are widowed. It has always been a question how for the statistics for this age period represent facts and special efforts were made during compilation to ensure that all doubtful cases should be investigated locally by the district authorities: the proportion of married and widowed during the early years of life shows since 1901 a small but satisfactory decrease, which is not improbably

altogether due to more accurate returns. At the next age period, 10—15, the number of married females is over ten times that of the males: at 15—40 female superiority still holds good, but from 40 upwards married men are nearly three times as numerous as married women. In Subsidiary Tables II and IV, which show statistics by religions and locality, Goalpara district has been shown separately from the rest of the Brahmaputra Valley in order that the conditions of the greater part of the latter area might not be obscured. It will be noted that the conditions in Goalpara approximate to those prevailing in the Surma Valley. Out of every 1,000 Hindu females aged 5-10 the number who are married is 48 in the Surma Valley and 51 in Goalpara against only 11 in the rest of the Brahmaputra Valley. Similar results are obtained in the age period 10—15, both for married and widowed females, the latter being fewer in proportion at every age in the Brahmaputra Valley. The figures given in Subsidiary Table IV showing the number of females per 1,000 males at different ages in each civil condition are equally striking. The statistics prove that the Surma Valley and Goalpara are more like Bengal in the marriage customs of their Hindu inhabitants than the rest of Assam. Indeed in the central and upper Brahmaputra Valley the only Hindu castes which are orthodox in the matters of child marriage and the prohibition of widow marriage are the Brahmans and Grahabipras. Subsidiary Table V gives the figures for certain selected castes, which are distinguished by locality. I am not sure that very much reliance can be placed on the few returns showing married girls under 5; they come mainly from inferior castes, amongst whom there is a noticeable tendency to be more orthodox than the Brahmans themselves, as will be seen immediately. The age period 5—12 shows remarkable results: the castes with high numbers of married girls are inferior and belong to the Surma Valley, with one exception: the first are the Bhuimalis with 209 per mille, and they are followed in order by the Patnis, Telis, Dhobas, Namasudras, Rajbansis of Goalpara, Baruis and Malos: the Brahmans of the province, who appear next in the list, have only 122 per mille, the Kayasthas only 67, and the Baidyas as few as 34. The highest proportion amongst castes peculiar to the Brahmaputra Valley is found amongst the Kalitas, but it is only 29: the Kewats, Koches, Mikirs, Kacharis, Chutias, Ahoms and Nadials follow in the order given: among the latter two castes there are only 4 girls married between 5 and 12 years of age. Similar results are obtained by an examination of the statistics of the age period 12—20: it will be noticed that here the highest proportion of widows is amongst the Malos, a fishing caste of Sylhet. It would appear reasonable to infer from these figures that in the Surma Valley and Goalpara the castes which hold an inferior status in Hindu society are more anxious to marry their girls in infancy than the higher castes, while in the Brahmaputra Valley the indigenous castes are as yet fairly free from the prejudice against adult marriage of women. The age of the bridegroom follows the same course, with a few curious exceptions. The Goalas of the province, the Tantis of the upper Brahmaputra Valley, who are foreigners, and the Malos of Sylhet contain the highest proportion of married males aged 5—12, but I would not place much stress on the statistics of this period. Between 12 and 20 the Goalas have the greatest proportion of bridegrooms, but they are closely followed by the Animistic Kacharis and Chutias of the Brahmaputra Valley, and then follow the Kamars, Tantis, Brahmans and Mikirs. Apart from the high statistical position of the Animists, the castes indigenous to the Brahmaputra Valley marry their sons after 20. I am at a loss to explain why the Kachari, Chutia and Mikir boys should take wives at such an early age: it may be due to greater freedom of intercourse with the other sex and the need for making some permanent arrangement as soon as there are signs of conception.

Muhammadans.

74. Up to the age of 10 the proportion of Muhammadan girls married is much less than that found amongst Hindus, but between 10 and 15 there are more girl wives amongst the former. It is not until we get beyond 40 years of age that we find the married males in excess among Muhammadans. The number of widowers is low at every age and the proportion of widows does not approach that amongst Hindus until after 40, when presumably the chances of a fresh marriage are not favourable to women who have already been married and have now to compete with younger rivals. There is nothing very special in the variations by locality: if anything, Muhammadan women seem to marry younger in the Brahmaputra Valley and the proportion of widows is somewhat lower than in the Surma Valley. I do not think that it would be safe to draw any conclusions from the small apparent variations in the statistics since 1881; the present results are probably nearer accuracy. The statistics bring out clearly the essential difference between Hindus and Muhammadans that follows from the prohibition of widow remarriage among the former.

Animists.

75. The statistics of Animist males are not very dissimilar from those of Muhammadans, except that there is a higher proportion of widowers amongst the former. The striking features are concerned with the women. Below ten years of age there are only 10 married and 1 widowed female per mille against 33 and 2, respectively, among Muhammadans and 43 and 2 amongst Hindus. Between 10 and 15 the proportion of married girls is about a third of that for all religions for the province and the proportion of widows bears the same ratio to those of the other two religions. Animists have the highest number of married women over 40, and consequently the lowest number of widows. It would appear from Subsidiary Table IV that the Animists of all ages in the Brahmaputra Valley have a lower proportion of widows than those in the Hills, but the influence of their Hindu neighbours on the former is shown by the excess of married girls and widows between 10 and 15. I am again inclined to attribute the small variations disclosed in Subsidiary Table IV to greater accuracy at the present census.

Child marriage.

76. The theories which have been put forward to explain the origin of child marriage were discussed in the last Census Report, in paragraph 120 of which it was stated that local opinion agreed with Mr. O'Donnell's view that the practice of child marriage was established to prevent early loss of virginity and the danger that grown-up girls might refuse to accept a husband of proper caste and rank. Local enquiries instituted regarding the present average ages of marriage for females among different castes point to the conclusion that in the Surma Valley infant marriage is an established custom amongst every class of the people. In Goalpara the Rajbansis, who form the main Hindu caste, are said to marry their daughters when they reach 11 or 12 years of age. In the other districts of the Brahmaputra Valley Brahmans and Grahabipras practise infant marriage, but the Kalitas, the highest indigenous caste, do not give their daughters in marrige before the age of 11 or 12; the age for Kewats is about 14, for Koches 15, while other castes keep their daughters until they are 16 or 18 years old, which is the average age of marriage amongst Animistic tribes. These results are confirmed by the statistics of caste which have been given above. One would be inclined to infer that in Assam the existence of the practice of child marriage is due to imitation and that it is a part of the general tendency of castes to raise themselves by adopting the customs of their superiors. Certain practices, such as adult marriage and the purchase of brides, are viewed with disfavour by the higher castes of orthodox Hindus. The Grahabipras of the Brahmaputra Valley are said to have given up the latter custom since 1908, and the tendency amongst the Kalitas, Keots and Koches is to follow their example. In the Surma Valley the Jogis are taking the same course and the Muhammadans are coming into line with their co-religionists elsewhere: the reports show that even among the lower castes, such as Patnis and Namasudras, there is a tendency to minimise the prevalence of the custom, and in both valleys the bride price is often declared to be in the nature of an aid to the bride's family to bear the marriage expenses. There would appear, then, to be little doubt that in the gradual abolition of the bride price we have an example of deliberate imitation, and it would seem that the most obvious explanation of the practice of child marriage, so far as it exists in Assam, is that it has arisen from the same cause. But plausible as this theory is, it does not meet with general acceptance when applied to other parts of India, and it was shown in the last Bengal Census Report that marriage in that province was largely a matter of locality, though depending to a certain extent on its cost. The enquiries made tend to show that the cost of the marriage ceremony has very little connection in Assam with the bride's age, because the money spent varies with the means of the parties and hence tends to be larger amongst the higher castes, who are generally more well-to-do. It has been suggested that infant marriage owes its origin to low castes, who on their conversion to Hinduism introduced it in order to put a stop to the premarital intercourse which is common amongst aboriginal tribes, but I do not think that this theory could claim support from our statistics. On the contrary we find that in the Brahmaputra Valley, where there are more Hindus not far removed from Animism than elsewhere, the marriage age of girls is high, but in the Surma Valley and in Goalpara on the Bengal border it is low, and the only conclusion that seems to be borne out by the figures is that referred to above, *viz.*, deliberate imitation.

Polygamy and polyandry.

77. The most obvious method of discovering the extent to which polygamy is prevalent is to compare the number of married males with the number of married females. There are however two factors

which cannot be neglected in this matter; there may be a tendency to show as widowed not alone widows who have married again, but also women who live with men without having gone through a formal ceremony: secondly, the statistics may be vitiated by migration. Every effort was made to eliminate the former danger during both enumeration and compilation, and the fact that there are decreases since 1901 in the number of unmarried females over 20, *e.g.*, in Nowgong, Lakhimpur, Darrang and Garo Hills, would tend to show that the present figures are somewhat nearer the truth. The only way to avoid the second difficulty is to confine ourselves to large areas. In the province as a whole it is only amongst Muhammadans, Animists and Christians that there are more married women than men, the proportion per mille of males being 1,014, 1,029 and 1,017, respectively. It is clear that polygamy does not prevail to any extent, but it must be allowed that the statistics are obscured by the immigrant population. Polyandry does not exist now in Assam, but it may be inferred that it prevailed amongst the Khasis and Garos, who still trace their descent and inherit property through the female.

Hypergamy.

78. The system of Kulinism which is peculiar to Bengal does not exist in any part of Assam, but in Sylhet the practice of hypergamy based on social status is found among the higher castes. Hypergamy is a term invented in India to express the custom of marrying a wife of a superior social grade: it does not imply that the latter is of a superior caste, but only that the superiority is a social one within the caste. In Sylhet an educated man can always and a wealthy man can generally obtain a wife of higher social position than his own: high social position there implies a family which in bygone days held important posts under Muhammadan rule or distinguished itself by learning or the acquisition of property. In Sylhet also wealthy Dases and Shahas succeed at times in marrying their sons and daughters to Vaidyas and Kayasthas, though the latter are generally of indifferent status in their own caste, and Vaidyas and Kayasthas freely intermarry, though such a practice would be reprehensible in Bengal. This is a step beyond the usual hypergamy and postulates a freedom in caste matters which is not often found and which will be discussed later on in the chapter on caste.

Exogamy and prohibited degrees.

79. It may be stated as a general fact that amongst the higher castes the *gotra* and the prohibited degrees of relationship form the exogamous circle: amongst the lower castes there is a good deal of laxity with regard to the *gotra*, which is practically non-existent, although in imitation of the higher castes some of them profess to have *gotras*. Amongst the Brahmans the *gotras* are generally eponymous: each is supposed to consist of the descendants of one or other of the great Vedic Saints or Rishis. When *gotras* with similar names are found amongst other castes, the descent is claimed not from the saint, but from members of the caste who were included amongst his disciples. In Assam the only castes which can be said to have such exogamous sections are the Brahmans, Vaidyas and Kayasthas in the Surma Valley and Brahmans and Grahabipras or Acharjis in the Brahmaputra Valley: so that, excluding these castes, it may be said that marriage is forbidden only within the prohibited degrees of relationship. When a woman of any of these castes marries, she enters the exogamous group of her husband. The custom which exists in some places of taking a bride from a village other than that of the bridegroom does not exist in Assam. The general rule with regard to the degrees within which marriage is forbidden prohibits marriage amongst Brahmans, Vaidyas and Kayasthas within seven generations on the father's side and five generations on the side of the mother; but this rule is not strictly enforced amongst the lower castes. The custom of cousin marriage does not exist amongst Hindus, but is permissible amongst Muhammadans. Amongst the Garos one daughter of the family must marry the son of her father's sister or, in the absence of such a cousin, a man of her father's motherkin.

I have not been able to discover any trace of totemistic exogamous clans in the proper sense of the word in Assam, *i.e.*, though such sections may have the names of animals or natural objects, there does not appear to be any reverence for the supposed ancestor. A possible exception is the Jyrwa Nongsiet clan in the west of the Khasi Hills, which believes that its ancestress sprang from a bamboo plant and in deference to this belief refuses to eat the small green shoots of the bamboo which are common food amongst the neighbouring clans. The following interesting account of the

exogamous sections of the Sema Nagas is given by Mr. J. Needham, late Subdivisional Officer of Mokokchang :—

The Sema tribe is subdivided into seventeen exogamous divisions which are enumerated below :—

1. Simi.
2. Chunimi.
3. Aomi.
4. Ayemi.
5. Achumi.
6. Yeputhomi.
7. Chisholimi.
8. Chishilimi.
9. Katenimi.
10. Kibalimi.
11. Kinimi.
12. Khakhulimi.
13. Shohemi.
14. Tsukemi.
15. Zemomi.
16. Chophemi.
17. Watsami.

The Semas say they originally were born on Tukahu Hill which overlooks Kohima station, and then gradually spread north to the villages they now occupy. This hill is known to the Angamis as Pulebadzu, Pule's sitting place.

Nikhoga was the first man and he had six sons. Of these six sons, he could only find a wife for the eldest. During the latter's absence from home the other five brothers use to carry on intrigues with his wife. Seeing this, Nikhoga, in order to avoid trouble, called his sons together and said they must all go their own way and form their own clans. On the appointed day he killed a pig, a dog and a goat and cooked a quantity of rice and had a feast. Each son was asked his choice and according to their choice or any particular trait in their character their clans were named. The eldest of course remained with his father and his clan took on the tribal name "Simi." Another chose the dog's head, saying as the dog eats everything, so will he and his clan. These are known as "Chunimi," which translated literally corresponds to "the eaters of everything." One chose the pig's head and his clan are called "Aomi" (from ao=a pig). Before the feast, while the brothers were carrying in firewood, one of them made a great noise while carrying his load and his clan are called "Ayemi" (from aye= a noise). Another was the first to eat rice at the feast and his clan are called "Achumi" (from ana= rice, chu=to eat). The last one was a very taciturn fellow who would not join the others, but stood silently looking on. His clan were accordingly called "Yeputhomi" (from ye=a clan, tholo=very deep, silent).

These five brothers then migrated north with their respective followers, and one of them, a man called Khogamo, grew very prosperous and his village became very large. He had three sons and calling them told them to form new clans, each taking a number of followers. Chisho was the eldest and he formed the Chisholimi clan. The second son was a thief and was chntinually being thumped on the mouth, evidently because the proceeds of the thefts found their way to this member of his body. His clan are called Chishilimi (from chishi=to thump on the mouth). Kate was the name of the youngest and his clan were called "Katenimi" after him. To this day we have the villages of Chisholimi and Katenimi.

Kibalimi is an offshoot from Simi. It seems the founder of the clan was very fond of roaming about the streams (aziba=a pond or pool). Kinimi is an offshoot from Aomi and is named after its founder Kinishe. Khakhulimi is an offshoot from Achumi and is merely named after its founder Khakhu. Shohemi is an offshoot from Chisholimi: the founder was a very inquisitive fellow and had a way of always raising his head when looking at anything (shohe=to raise). Tsukemi is an offshoot from Chishilimi: the founder was a very mischievous fellow who was always being caught hold of and scolded (tsuke=to catch hold). There was a woman named Pithili who gave birth to an illegitimate child. She could not name the father. This boy grew up a strong man and became wealthy. He founded the Zemomi clan. Zemomi means literally "by the blood of an unknown" (from aze=blood, mo=not, unknown, mi=child).

I have not been able to trace from which clans the Chophemi and Watsami are offshoots. The man who founded the Chophemi clan was one day found in a pond with only his head and neck out of water and his clan are called Chophemi (from chophe=to project). The founder of the Watsami clan one day left some finely pounded rice in a basket. He had intended brewing liquor with it. He went away to attend to some other work and coming back found a pig eating it. He tried to snatch the basket away and the pig bit him on the hand. The word is derived from ao=a pig, tsa=to bite.

Marriage ceremonies.

80. A full account of the marriage customs in use amongst Hindus and certain tribes in Assam was given in the last Census Report. It may be mentioned here that marriage by service is more common amongst the Animistic or semi-Hinduised tribes than elsewhere. Among the Manipuri settlers of Sylhet the Gandharva form of marriage is quite common: the parties arrange an elopement at a dance or other assemblage and run away to some distant village, from where they send the news to their homes: their people then call together some friends and proceed to the spot singing and dancing, and bring back the happy pair to the bridegroom's house amidst general rejoicings. Amongst the Jugis of Sylhet the bridegroom pretends to be very angry and rushes away with the mat doors of his would-be father-in-law's house, whereon he is threatened with a paddy husker and finally pacified by being told he will get a sweet wife: then follow the usual ceremonies of marriage. Detailed descriptions of the tribal forms of marriage

will be found in the ethnographic monographs already published. The following account of a marriage amongst the Lhota Nagas may prove interesting :—

The first step is for the suitor to send an old man with a gourd of liquor and a bundle of wool to the girl's parents : if the latter are willing to give their daughter, they asked her consent : formerly she had to go whether she liked it or not, but now she is allowed a voice in the bargain. The young man, on receiving intimation of consent, takes a hen in his hand and accompanied by an old man proceeds to the girl's house where an old woman is called in by the girl's parents; the fowl is then divided and the head-half is given to the old man and the tail-half to the old woman. This division of what may be called the wooing-fowl is the essential part of a Lhota betrothal, and failure to proceed with the marriage after this entails a fine on the defaulting party. The price is then arranged : a well-to-do suitor will give four pigs of the value of Rs. 20 each and a spear worth Rs. 2, but within recent years their value in rupees is commonly given ; a poor man might pay as low as Rs. 42, *i.e.*, the value of four small pigs and a spear. The marriage price in former days was paid in instalments, first one pig, which furnished a feast for the whole family of the girl, secondly, after an interval of three or four months, two pigs and a spear, which were taken by the bride's father and mother, and finally the remaining pig, which was divided in two, the head-half being given to the girl's parents and the other half being split in two and half taken by the girl and half by the would-be bridegroom. All the latter's male relations go to the girl's house and are feasted there by her parents. At the end of the feast all the girls related to the bride form a ring around her and sing "girls our way are few, you cannot have her," an old woman pounding an accompaniment to the song with a drum stick, for the possession of which a mock fight begins and finally the girl is surrendered. On the way back to her husband's house the bride walks first and the bridegroom second, each carrying a gourd of liquor, and behind them come all the relations with lighted torches : they are met by an old man who takes the bridegroom's hand and an old woman who takes the bride's; the pair are then made to sit down together and then to stand together and finally they are again seated side by side and the ceremony is over. On the first night two little girls from the bride's party and two boys from the bridegroom's sleep in the house : in the morning the whole four go out for water shouting all the time, for if they see any animal on the way, it is a bad omen and a *puja* must be done. The marriage costs a bridegroom about a hundred rupees; the expenses of the bride's family are only four or five rupees, exclusive of such ornaments or clothes as they may care to give her.

Divorce is common and results from unfaithfulness on either side or mutual incompatibility. If the wife is unfaithful, the husband recovers the marriage price ; if the husband is unfaithful the girl's parents receive ten rupees or a small pig : the marriage price is refunded when the parties find that they cannot live together in peace. Polygamy is very common and is limited only by the man's resources : polyandry is uncommon.

Terms of relationship.

81. The use of terms of relationship is an interesting study to the ethnologist, because they often exemplify social customs or afford clues to those which are defunct or otherwise inexplicable. Very full lists have been received, amongst others from Lieutenant-Colonel Shakespear, Political Agent, Manipur, and Rev. Mr. Pettigrew of the Baptist Mission to the Tangkhul Nagas, and will be transmitted to the Census Commissioner for communication to Anthropological Societies: they are synopsised in an appendix to this chapter for the benefit of those who are curious on this subject. In the limited space at my disposal I proposed to confine myself here to the terms used in Assamese. The words for father, mother, son and daughter assume different forms according as the person concerned speaks, is spoken to, or is spoken of : my father is *mor bopai*, your father is *tomar baper*, his father is *tar bapek* : similarly for mother the forms are *ai*, *mar*, *mak*, for son *po*, *puter* and *putek*, and for daughter *ji*, *jier* and *jiek*. The distinction between elder and younger is maintained by the use of separate words for elder and younger brother, brother-in-law, sister, sister-in-law, paternal and maternal uncle, uncle's wife, aunt and aunt's husband : the paternal uncle and aunt are carefully distinguished from those on the mother's side, and so are brothers and sisters-in-law according as they are on the husband's or the wife's side. On the other hand, first cousins on both sides are called brothers and sisters, whether they are children of a brother or a sister, but are distinguished as being younger and elder. Nephews who are children of a brother have a different name from the children of a sister, and they stand in the same relationship to the wife of their uncle as they do to him. Grandparents and grandchildren have the same names whether they are on the male or female side, and so do fathers and mothers-in-law. There are special names for the

husband of the wife's sister, for the wife of the husband's brother, and for the parent of the son's wife. The terms in use are given herewith :—

Relation.	Assamese.	Relation.	Assamese.
1	2	3	4
1. Father	Bopai, etc. ...	Son	Po, etc.
2. Mother	Ai, etc. ...	Daughter ...	Ji, etc.
3. Elder brother	Kakai ...	Younger brother ...	Bhai.
4. Elder sister	Bai ...	Younger sister ...	Bhani.
5. Father's brother ... Elder ...	Bar bopai ...	Brother's child ...	Bhatija.
Younger ...	Khura, dadai ...		
6. Father's brother's wife ... Elder ..	Bar ai, bar bau ...	Husband's brother's child ...	Bhatija.
Younger ...	Khuri ...		
7. Father's brother's child	Kakai, bhai (m). Bai, bhain (f).		
8. Father's sister ... Elder ...	Jethai.		
Younger ...	Pehi.		
9. Father's sister's husband Elder ...	Jethpa.		
Younger ...	Peha.		
10. Father's sister's child	Kakai bhai (m). Bai, bhain (f).		
11. Mother's brother	Momai ...	Sister's child ...	Bhagin.
12. Mother's brother's wife	Mai, mami ...	Husband's sister's child ...	Bhagin.
13. Mother's brother's child	Kakai, bhai (m). Bai, bhain (f).		
14. Mother's sister ... Elder ...	Jethai.		
Younger ...	Mahi.		
15. Mother's sister's husband Elder ...	Jethpa.		
Younger ...	Maha.		
16. Mother's sister's child	Kakai, bhai (m). Bai, bhain (f).		
17. Father's or ... Father ...	Kaka	Son's or daughter's Son ...	Nati.
18. Mother's ... Mother ...	Buri ai ...	Daughter	Natini.
19. Husband	Girihani or giriek ...	Wife	Ghaini.
20. Wife's or husband's father ...	Sahur ...	Daughter's husband ...	Jowain.
21. „ „ „ mother ...	Sahu	Son's wife	Bowari.
22. Wife's brother ... Elder ...	Jetheri ...	Sister's husband... Elder ...	Bhinihi.
Younger ...	Khurkhali.	Younger...	Bhainai.
23. Wife's sister ... Elder ...	Je sahu.		
Younger ...	Khurkhali.		
24. Husband's brother ... Elder ...	Jethal ...	Brother's wife ... Elder ...	Bau.
Younger ...	Deor ...	Younger...	Bowari.
25. Husband's sister ... Elder ...	Sahu.		
Younger ...	Nande.		
26. Wife's sister's husband	Salpati.		
27. Husband's brother's wife	Ja.		
28. Son's wife's parents	[illegible] (m). [illegible].		

the child and its mother : after birth the father must not go out for ten days in a high wind or cloudy weather for fear that the Wind God might injure the child. Amongst the Lushais during pregnancy

the father will not cut open any animal that has been killed or cut off its limbs for fear his child should be born without those limbs : he believes too that if he takes the flesh of any wild beast found dead, his child will be still-born : if he gives away any article of clothing to a man of a distant village, the child's health will be permanently impaired : he also avoids all hard work, because his performance of hard work is considered to be injurious to the child's health.

Amongst the Ao Nagas

the husband delivers the wife and performs all the other duties attendant on child-births. Immediately the child is born he puts a little rice, which he has previously chewn, into the child's mouth and says aloud 'I am first. This is my child which God has given me.' This is done to prevent the evil spirit from taking possession of the child and causing its death.

84. It would appear that twins are generally regarded as unlucky : the following shows the ideas of the Tangkhul Nagas :—

I am inclined to think that the ideas about this are as numerous as the villages of the tribe. Some welcome them and others very much object to have such a woman among them. The latter look upon her as some lower animal who naturally gives birth to more than one. At Ukhrul the belief is that when the twins are both males the husband of the mother must be a descendant of some cannibalistic line, like the tiger, and ought to be carefully watched for any tendency towards a man-eating disposition. There are certain villages in the tribe where these people are supposed to dwell, Tallui Kachai, Phatang, Nungbi, Nungshong, Wongshim, Challao, and the Kuki villages. Those who welcome them think that they are specially blessed fruitfulness of their crops.

85. There are many different ways of disposing the body of a child dying in infancy : of that among the Meitheis of Manipur Colonel Shakespear gives the following account :—

A child which dies under three years of age is buried in some place where people are not likely to go, sometimes in a deep grave close to the water's edge on a river bank. Some well roasted peas are buried with it and the Maiba says "when these peas spring up, then you may return, not till then." The spirits of such children are called Suren or Apumbi according to sex : they are supposed to be extremely malicious, and people walking on their graves are liable to get swollen feet or some eye disease. If the ceremony described below is not properly performed, the spirit of the child may re-enter the mother's womb and the next child will die in the same manner. Three days after the burial of the child, which takes place on the day of birth, the *lai-yu-pal* ceremony has to be performed: *yupal* is the libation which a Naga pours out on to mother earth, before he drinks ; the name has survived, though since the Manipuris became Vaishnavas the *yu* or rice beer has been omitted. A plantain bunch is taken and beginning at one end the fruits are counted, the counter saying *Chang, i.e.*, "alive" to the first one, then *Si, i.e.*, "dead" to the second and so on ; if the word *Si* falls on the last fruit that bunch is taken ; if not, another must be tried. Having got a suitable bunch it is placed in the verandah of the house and with it some betel nut on a leaf and some sort of fruit on another leaf (called *heiruk*) and a loin cloth or petticoat according to the sex of the child and a muslin shawl and, if the child was a boy, also a puggri. The Maiba now addresses the spirit of the deceased child saying "we have given you all this food and clothing ; be content, go and do not return." The offering becomes the property of the Maiba.

Three months after the burial another and more complicated ceremony has to be performed, but the description is too long to be reproduced here.

86. There are many different methods of name-giving. That among the Totla Rabhas of Kamrup is described as follows :—

On the fifth day, after performing the necessary purification ceremonies, a number of relations and kinsmen are called and a fowl is given to a kinsman or Dewri, who with the stem of a plantain leaf goes on striking the fowl uttering a name at each stroke. The name which is uttered with the stroke that kills the fowl is given to the child. The fowl is then cooked and eaten by the men present with *mad* (liquor) and *bhat*.

Amongst the Tangkhul Nagas the following is the custom :—

There are two styles of the name-giving, one for the rich and one for the poor. For the rich a pig is killed and offered up to "Kameo" (evil spirit) by the "sherra" (village priest) who proceeds to call out the name of some ancestor or ancestress outside the house. On hearing this name the father in the house calls out "hili ungra" (it is come here), and from that day the child is called by that name. The poor call in the aid of the "kapa", which is the Tangkhul principal charm and diviner. The Manipuris call it "paya tatpa"; it is really a strip of split bamboo cut and manipulated to show either a bad or a good sign. They think of a name first, and then work the kapa. Owing sometimes to this acting most obstreperously and refusing to be favourable, the poor child is there and, then called by the name of "pashi" (male) or "pashila" (female) ; a bad kapa. The time of giving names is generally at the sixth or fifth day after birth.

Amongst the Rangdonia Rabhas of Goalpara

a fortnight or a month after the birth of the child a feast is given and a pig is sacrificed for the name-giving ceremony. The ceremony of giving the name is the peculiar right of the old woman who has acted as midwife and delivered the child and cut the naval string. She crushes some lucky herb in the hand and invokes blessings on the infant that he may have a long and prosperous life, be wise and happy, successful in his cultivation, and so on. The mother of the child selects the name and very curiously, she is guided in her choice of names by some incident in her own life. For instance, if

Birth-customs.

82. I have received a great deal of information on the subject of birth-customs, but it is impossible in a census report to do more than to cull interesting points from the mass of material collected, and as orthodox Hindu and Muhammadan usages are well known, the extracts given below refer entirely to Animistic tribes or those who have not long given up their primitive customs. The subject is treated in each of the Assam tribal monographs published by Government: I have endeavoured to give here information not included in them.

Rites during pregnancy, such as the *panchamrita* and the *shadh bhakshan* are mainly confined to orthodox Hindus, but amongst the Khasis, the Rangdonia Rabhas of Goalpara, the Ao Nagas, the Kacha Nagas and the Lushais there is usually a sacrificial ceremony to ensure a safe delivery. One correspondent quotes the Sanskrit prescription of one Koka Pandit, who lived about 600A.D., for ensuring the sex of progeny, but its virtue seems to lie in cohabitation on the even or odd days after the menses according as the offspring is intended to be female or male, and in this it follows the ordinary Hindu theory. The same correspondent refers to a now obsolete practice of the Kacharis of North Cachar for causing sex, which consisted in blowing through a reed in a particular manner into the vagina: this practice is said to have been stopped about fifty years ago by a Christian Missionary. In the matter of forecasting sex the following extract from the Rev. Mr. Pettigrew's account of the Tangkhul Nagas of Manipur is the most interesting:—

Those who can afford to call in the village doctor (Khanongva) to forecast the sex of the child practise the following:—The husband and wife are made to sit inside the verandah of the house, and the "Khanongva" with a peg-top (a boy's plaything) and a "saothaila" (a girl's plaything), a kind of round seed, flat, called "kang" in Manipuri, in his hand, stands at the threshhold and throws first the peg-top towards the woman, and if it spins in the direction of her lap the child will be a male: if it does not so spin, the "saothaila" is thrown in the direction of the woman and if it alights in the same direction the child will be a female. If neither acts in this way, the fates are against any diagnosis of such an important prognostication, or the "Khanongva" is not considered a diviner of hidden things. In this matter of forecasting the sex, dreams by the pregnant women are considered a source of information. If she dreams that she is drinking out of a "shon," the large size gourd carried by bridesmaids from which the rice beer is drunk, then she will be delivered of a female child, but if she drinks from a "thing khoram," a drinking pot made of bamboo, the child will be a male, a bamboo planted outside the house denoting an enemy's head in former days and hence associated with the idea of a warrior.

There are no traces of the practice of abortion, if the child is divined to be female: in some tribes a girl is welcomed on account of her value in bride-price. The rules regarding prohibited food are usually fairly sensible and are intended for the preservation of the health of mother and child. Of the Tangkhul Nagas Mr. Pettigrew writes:—

There is no food prohibited before birth, but after birth the eating of any green vegetable from the jungle is refused, as it is said to make the after-pains more intense. Any kind of honey eaten by the mother is supposed to make the child squint for life. There are other things prohibited, however, as described herewith:—

(*a*) Whatever a woman may do at any other time, during the pregnant period her abdomen must be covered over with a cloth: this being the case, she does not indulge in the luxury of a bath during this time. Her feet and hands only are washed.

(*b*) She is forbidden to take the plantain fruit from the jungle, *viz.*, the bunch of unformed fruit that abounds in these hills. By doing so she will die in child birth, as the womb will be transformed into the same kind of arrangement that is found in the centre of these bunches of unformed fruit of the wild plantain, and thus cause death.

(*c*) She is forbidden to gather burnt wood from the jungle, otherwise the child's body or limbs will be born coal black in colour.

(*d*) She is forbidden to carry any sharpening stone to the rice fields, otherwise the child will be born without hands or legs.

(*e*) She is forbidden to kill snakes or frogs, otherwise, in the former case the child will have the nasty habit of pulling its tongue out at all times of the day and in the latter case the child will not live long, as the frog is like a human being with hands and legs and fingers and toes, and no harm should be meted out to such animals.

83. The custom of the couvade seems to imply a mysterious magical and sympathetic connection between father and child, such that if the father infringe certain rules, the child suffers: some anthropologists find the origin of the custom in the transition from the original matriarchal system to the patriarchal. Though it was reported on all sides that there is no trace of the couvade in Assam, the following references to the conduct of the father seem to be instances of it. Amongst the Maram Nagas of Manipur the husband of a woman in advanced pregnancy is averse from going about at night lest he should meet the God Sarapu who might return with him and injure

the child is a son, he is named after a rejected or unsuccessful lover; if a daughter, she gets the name of some rival. This custom of naming sometimes leads to subsequent quarrels when people become talkative over their cups and rake up old grievances.

87. Ear-piercing is very general, but in most cases there are apparently no attendant ceremonies. Amongst the Tangkhul Nagas

ear-piercing takes place at one of three feasts after the cultivation work is over, at the Mangkap feast in August, at the Longra feast at the beginning of January, or at the Kathikasham (Mangla Thaba in Manipuri) feast at the end of January. The rich on such occasions kill cows or pigs, call in their relations and have a carousal. Before any meat is eaten by them, the ear-piercing man is called up to do the necessary work, and for the trouble taken is presented with a plate of meat and rice. The piercing is done with a pointed bamboo, and a small brass plug is inserted in the hole. In case the operation may have been badly done and a possibility of the lobe being torn apart the ear-piercing man must remain in the village that day, and is not allowed to do any work. The poor do not kill any animals and the ear-piercing man only receives a plate of rice for his trouble. It often happens that the father dies before his child's ears are pierced. Whatever arrangement has been made by him before his death, is carried out by his child as soon as he reaches the age of puberty and takes his place in the social arrangements of the village. Those children who are destitute of any means to carry out this performance wait till they are old enough to leave the village on a journey, and usually go down to the valley and get some Manipuri to pierce their ears.

88. Amongst Animistic tribes there does not appear to be any special ceremony in connection with feeding the child for the first time, but the following peculiar custom of the Tangkhul Nagas is worth recording :—

There is however a peculiar rite in this connection which takes place the day after birth, and it goes by the name of "Nao katun." It is practised by all the Tangkhuls without exception, I believe. It is done with a view to ensure long life and prosperity to the infant. On that day a hen is killed and one leg of same is cooked and only salt is added to it. If the child is a male, a boy about five or six years of age from among the relations of the family is called in and made to sit down on a seat in the house. Then the mother of the infant takes it into her arms and after counting one two, three, four, five, six, places her child on the boy's lap and also places in his right hand the aforesaid cooked chicken leg and in his left hand a pot of rice beer, which he, and he alone, immediately commences to demolish. This ends the ceremony. A female infant demands a female to go through the same ceremony and only five is counted. All such children are fitted to have the annual feast for the dead performed for them if they should happen to die. It sometimes happens that no male or female child can be found among the relations to take part in this ceremony. In that case there is no ceremony and the child is named accordingly "Ma-tun-a" if a male, and "Ma-tun-la" if a female. It is interesting to know that a similar ceremony is carried through for a new-born calf and for newly hatched chickens.

89. For those who are not Hindus or Muhammadans, the general custom seems to be that the woman is unclean for five or six days after child-birth and apart from this there is no seclusion. There are no puberty ceremonies amongst the hill tribes. Among the Mataks of Lakhimpur the following interesting ceremony is practised :—

As soon as a girl attains puberty Chari Buri (*i.e.*, old women) take her to a corner of the house and allow two or three girls to sleep with her for three nights. No man is permitted to see the girls for these days. On the fourth day the Chari Buri meet them again and wash the girl. Then some one goes to consult a pundit about the day on which the girl must be purified. On the day named by the pundit the ceremony of Noai Tolani is performed. This consists in bringing water from a distance and bathing the girl within an enclosure formed by planting four plantain trees in the court-yard: drums are generally beaten during this ceremony. A sham ceremony of marriage of the girl with a plantain tree is then gone through.

90. Illnesses of children are generally ascribed to evil spirits: amongst the Kacharis and Rabhas

all illness is believed to be caused by spirits. The *ojhas* know which disease is caused by which spirit. Diseases in which the patient loses his senses or suffers from violent pains are said to be caused by the demons Sagsu and Saman. Grinding of teeth is believed to be caused by a milder spirit named Khetro. Fever, flatulence, etc, are said to be caused by Matri and so on. The *ojha* declares by which spirit the patient has been seized and the necessary puja with sacrifices is offered to propitiate it.

In the Khasi Hills

amongst the Khasis in Mariaw State the sneezing of a child is taken to be ominous of its future stature. If it sneezes loud, it will grow up strong and healthy; if it sneezes low, it will be tall but not so strong. The grinding of teeth by a child is held to be of ill omen towards the household. The Wars of Shella believe the illnesses of childhood to be due to the influences of evil spirits and in particular to the ghosts of dead relatives, and perform pujas accordingly, also calling the child *niut* (a trifle) or *kiej* (a little thing) to avoid attracting the ghosts' attention before the child is properly named. The sneezing of a child is looked upon as an omen as regards journeys. If the child sneezes behind the back of a parent or relative who is starting on a journey, it is a good sign. If however the child sneezes in front of him, it is a bad omen and the journey is postponed.

91. The best example of the belief in transmigration is the custom of the Kacharis and Rabhas of Kamrup; amongst whom

under this belief the father often gives a cut on the arm, leg or some other part of the dead body of a child before it is thrown away, so that if its soul returns again to the family, it may be recognized by the mark. Several cases are said to have occurred in which children have returned to their mothers bearing a mark on the particular part of the body on which the cut was given.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Distribution by Civil Condition of 1,000 *of each Sex, Religion and main Age period at each of the last four Censuses.*

Religion, sex and age.	Unmarried.				Married.				Widowed.			
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ALL RELIGIONS ...	489	485	490	476	408	405	406	429	103	110	104	95
Male	555	554	562	538	398	399	397	428	47	47	41	34
0-5	1,000	1,000	999	999	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
5-10	997	994	997		3	6	3		...	...	...	
10-15	977	973	974	954	22	26	24	45	1	1	2	1
15-20	858	844	847	741	135	147	146	251	7	9	7	8
20-40	237	245	254	205	706	699	703	762	57	56	43	33
40-60	29	37	32	39	848	839	856	865	123	124	112	96
60 and over... ...	21	27	21	27	735	732	749	750	244	241	230	223
Unspecified... ...	...	...	...	421	...	...	...	575	...	...	...	4
Female	420	411	414	411	418	413	416	431	162	176	170	158
0-5	1,000	1,000	999	992	...	...	1	8	...	...	...	...
5-10	978	971	973		21	27	26		1	2	1	
10-15	716	695	660	676	274	291	328	314	10	14	12	10
15-20	235	226	208	224	722	718	747	735	43	56	45	41
20-40	27	39	32	39	816	780	803	814	157	181	165	147
40-60	6	13	9	12	434	406	427	495	560	581	564	493
60 and over... ...	5	11	7	7	147	129	130	189	848	860	863	804
Unspecified	...	...	...	402	...	...	...	588	...	...	...	10
HINDU	471	466	479	474	409	407	401	421	120	127	120	105
Male	542	542	559	539	400	401	392	420	58	57	49	41
0-5	1,000	1,000	1,000	999	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
5-10	996	993	997		4	6	2		...	1	1	
10-15	973	971	976	951	26	27	21	47	1	2	3	2
15-20	863	851	870	753	130	139	123	236	7	10	7	11
20-40	258	264	289	222	678	672	663	739	64	64	48	39
40-60	37	46	43	46	816	805	825	845	147	149	132	109
60 and over... ...	26	36	30	34	673	672	700	714	301	292	270	252
Unspecified... ...	...	...	...	279	...	...	...	569	...	...	...	152
Female	394	383	392	404	418	414	410	422	188	203	198	174
0-5	1,000	1,000	999	992	...	...	1	8	...	...	...	...
5-10	971	962	968		28	35	31		1	3	1	
10-15	687	671	643	676	301	312	343	313	12	17	14	11
15-20	223	221	222	236	726	712	724	717	51	67	54	47
20-40	29	33	30	35	789	758	774	802	182	209	196	163
40-60	4	13	9	11	384	361	376	460	612	626	615	529
60 and over... ...	3	8	5	7	104	95	97	171	893	897	898	822
Unspecified... ...	...	...	...	158	...	...	...	280	...	...	...	562
MUSALMAN... ...	508	510	505	484	409	401	409	434	83	89	86	82
Male	581	588	581	546	392	386	396	433	27	26	23	21
0-5	1,000	1,000	999	999	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
5-10	997	995	998		3	5	2		...	...	...	
10-15	982	981	979	958	18	18	20	41	...	1	1	1
15-20	863	855	843	732	132	140	153	265	5	5	4	3
20-40	208	228	205	162	755	737	768	820	37	35	27	18
40-60	14	24	11	16	915	907	927	924	71	69	62	60
60 and over... ...	11	14	7	10	827	825	836	830	162	161	157	160
Unspecified... ...	...	...	...	336	...	...	...	505	...	...	...	159
Female	499	426	424	420	428	417	423	435	143	157	153	145
0-5	1,000	999	999	992	...	1	1	8	...	...	...	...
5-10	981	975	974		18	23	24		1	2	2	
10-15	627	619	588	626	361	366	401	365	12	15	12	9
15-20	73	82	72	152	889	871	891	815	38	47	37	33
20-40	10	24	10	27	859	818	850	853	131	158	140	120
40-60	4	8	5	5	384	348	330	524	612	644	615	471
60 and over... ...	4	8	4	3	96	83	86	185	900	909	910	812
Unspecified... ...	...	...	...	92	...	...	...	277	...	...	...	631
ANIMIST	513	506	503	469	405	407	419	474	82	87	78	57
Male	551	545	543	496	403	410	414	476	46	45	43	28
0-5	1,000	1,000	999	1,000	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
5-10	997	994	996		3	5	4		...	1	...	
10-15	978	963	957	964	21	35	41	36	1	2	2	...
15-20	828	798	763	656	163	191	226	334	9	11	11	10
20-40	207	190	198	194	732	751	751	771	61	59	51	35
40-60	22	22	24	49	868	867	868	858	110	111	108	93
60 and over... ...	20	18	14	33	775	772	768	752	205	210	218	215
Unspecified... ...	...	...	...	423	...	...	...	577	...	...	...	...
Female	476	469	464	443	406	404	424	472	118	127	112	85
0-5	1,000	1,000	999	998	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...
5-10	993	986	986		6	13	13		1	1	1	
10-15	906	870	830	872	90	125	164	126	4	5	6	2
15-20	505	469	393	417	462	490	576	555	33	41	31	28
20-40	72	78	70	121	819	801	829	783	109	121	101	96
40-60	11	19	17	45	629	598	637	675	360	383	346	280
60 and over... ...	12	20	14	37	314	273	306	377	674	707	680	586
Unspecified... ...	...	...	...	407	...	...	...	593	...	...	...	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Distribution by Civil Condition of 1,000 *of each Sex at certain ages in each Religion and Natural Division.*

MALES.

Religion and Natural Division.	All ages.			0—5			5—10			10—15			15—40			40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
ASSAM.																		
All Religions... ...	555	398	47	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	977	22	1	353	598	47	27	825	148
Hindu	542	400	58	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	973	26	1	367	579	54	34	789	177
Musalman	581	392	27	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	981	18	1	340	629	31	14	894	92
Animistic	551	403	46	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	978	21	1	329	620	51	22	846	132
Christian	586	379	35	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	992	8	...	393	568	39	41	848	111
Buddhist	504	432	64	1,000	...	...	993	7	...	965	35	...	382	551	67	73	773	154
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.																		
All Religions ...	545	399	56	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	971	27	2	340	601	59	27	807	166
Hindu { Excluding Goalpara.	545	390	65	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	975	23	2	355	576	69	31	781	188
Hindu { Goalpara ...	531	426	43	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	960	39	1	338	628	34	25	833	142
Musalman	549	419	32	1,000	...	...	995	5	...	965	34	1	312	655	33	19	880	101
Animistic	554	397	49	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	970	29	1	300	644	56	22	829	149
SURMA VALLEY.																		
All Religions ...	564	396	40	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	979	20	1	369	595	36	28	834	138
Hindu	538	407	55	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	971	28	1	389	570	41	42	779	179
Musalman	589	385	26	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	985	15	...	349	621	30	12	898	90
HILLS.																		
All Religions ...	555	404	41	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	985	15	...	357	600	43	23	855	122
Animistic	550	407	43	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	984	16	...	352	601	47	22	859	119

FEMALES.

Religion and Natural Division.	All ages.			0—5			5—10			10—15			15—40			40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
ASSAM.																		
All Religions ...	420	418	162	1,000	...	...	978	21	1	716	274	10	70	797	133	6	363	631
Hindu	394	418	188	1,000	...	...	971	28	1	687	301	12	59	783	158	4	318	678
Musalman	429	428	143	1,000	...	...	981	18	1	627	361	12	25	866	109	4	309	687
Animistic	476	406	118	1,000	...	...	993	6	1	906	90	4	104	743	93	11	548	441
Christian	490	394	116	1,000	...	...	996	3	1	962	36	2	183	726	91	16	490	494
Buddhist	446	441	113	1,000	...	...	995	3	2	923	68	10	134	792	74	7	511	482
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.																		
All Religions ...	439	417	144	1,000	...	...	980	19	1	789	204	7	83	806	111	4	394	602
Hindu { Excluding Goalpara ...	435	414	151	1,000	...	...	983	11	1	848	147	5	87	797	116	4	379	617
Hindu { Goalpara ...	399	416	185	1,000	...	...	947	51	2	541	440	19	40	800	160	3	315	682
Musalman	418	443	139	1,000	...	...	953	45	2	538	456	11	30	873	97	2	342	656
Animistic	485	410	105	1,000	...	...	994	6	...	883	112	5	119	802	79	7	524	469
SURMA VALLEY.																		
All Religions ...	382	426	192	1,000	...	...	971	27	2	554	430	16	23	813	164	5	258	737
Hindu	327	429	244	1,000	...	...	949	48	3	442	538	20	21	762	217	4	224	772
Musalman	431	424	145	1,000	...	...	987	12	1	645	343	12	23	865	112	5	299	696
HILLS.																		
All Religions ...	470	397	133	1,000	...	...	993	6	1	920	77	3	174	719	107	12	533	455
Animistic	471	402	127	1,000	...	...	992	7	1	923	74	3	199	699	102	14	564	422

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Distribution by main age periods and Civil Condition of 10,000 *of each Sex and Religion.*

Religion and age.	Males.				Females.			
	Total.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Total.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ALL RELIGIONS ...	10,000	5,544	3,984	472	10,000	4,198	4,179	1,623
0—10 ...	3,046	3,041	5	...	3,273	3,237	34	2
10—15 ...	1,066	1,041	24	1	926	663	254	9
15—40 ...	3,979	1,410	2,381	188	4,115	289	3,278	548
40 and over ...	1,909	52	1,574	283	1,686	9	613	1,064
HINDU ...	10,000	5,423	4,002	575	10,000	3,945	4,176	1,879
0—10 ...	2,842	2,837	5	...	3,107	3,062	43	2
10—15 ...	1,023	995	27	1	913	627	275	11
15—40 ...	4,151	1,523	2,405	223	4,210	249	3,295	666
40 and over ...	1,984	68	1,565	351	1,770	7	563	1,200
MUHAMMADAN ...	10,000	5,808	3,920	272	10,000	4,294	4,275	1,431
0—10 ...	3,343	3,338	5	...	3,640	3,605	33	2
10—15 ...	1,171	1,150	21	...	932	584	337	11
15—40 ...	3,810	1,297	2,396	117	4,002	99	3,465	438
40 and over ...	1,676	23	1,498	155	1,426	6	440	980
ANIMIST ...	10,000	5,512	4,030	458	10,000	4,762	4,057	1,181
0—10 ...	3,253	3,249	4	...	3,234	3,223	10	1
10—15 ...	1,039	1,016	22	1	954	864	86	4
15—40 ...	3,656	1,202	2,268	186	3,985	655	2,960	370
40 and over ...	2,052	45	1,736	271	1,827	20	1,001	806

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Proportion of the sexes by Civil Condition at certain ages for Religions and Natural Divisions.

Natural Division and Religion.	Number of females per 1,000 males.														
	All ages.			0—10.			10—15.			15—40.			40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
ASSAM.															
All Religions	713	987	3,236	1,001	6,415	12,411	590	9,907	8,789	102	1,295	2,749	167	366	3,541
Hindu	670	962	3,008	995	7,424	10,140	581	9,701	7,154	151	1,263	2,751	93	331	3,151
Musalman	683	1,014	4,882	1,004	6,567	22,333	473	14,719	23,571	71	1,543	3,470	250	274	5,892
Animistic	889	1,629	2,634	1,014	2,487	13,750	870	3,389	5,070	557	1,394	2,928	456	590	3,041
Christian	810	1,017	3,277	1,002	762	...	866	4,129	...	470	1,995	2,373	307	529	4,053
Buddhist	614	709	1,231	943	400	...	785	1,588	...	213	872	671	57	399	1,842
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.															
All Religions	735	953	2,366	994	4,512	6,152	672	6,182	4,227	227	1,253	1,758	106	378	2,809
Hindu { Excluding Goalpara ...	739	967	2,123	996	2,860	3,200	719	5,151	2,457	231	1,291	1,581	89	378	2,566
{ Goalpara ...	657	852	3,771	978	14,596	59,000	468	9,415	15,412	100	1,078	3,931	53	289	3,648
Musalman	698	927	3,887	982	5,188	14,000	404	9,869	11,267	86	1,178	2,809	76	285	4,767
Animistic	854	1,006	2,084	1,008	1,428	2,333	825	2,543	4,080	429	1,314	1,479	250	503	2,513
SURMA VALLEY.															
All Religions	628	1,016	4,521	1,005	9,534	19,682	430	16,171	18,841	60	1,345	4,526	135	239	4,469
Hindu	573	989	4,184	999	12,402	16,705	367	15,337	15,975	52	1,239	5,037	87	248	3,715
Musalman	691	1,043	5,229	1,010	5,702	29,000	484	17,490	20,185	66	1,399	3,702	331	269	6,253
HILLS.															
All Religions	1,067	1,008	3,279	1,011	4,025	59,000	200	4,899	8,450	521	1,382	2,637	492	616	3,609
Animistic	998	1,048	3,150	1,018	4,083	45,000	994	4,533	6,125	655	1,351	2,468	622	654	3,651

SUBSIDIARY

Distribution by Civil Condition of 1,000 *of each*

Caste and locality.	Distribution of 1,000 males of each age by civil condition.																	
	All ages.			0—5.			5—12.			12—20.			20—40.			40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Ahom (Hindu)— (Brahmaputra Valley)...	606	335	59	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	961	36	3	282	648	70	23	758	219
Baidya (Hindu) (Assam)	525	444	31	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	967	30	3	213	766	21	30	860	110
Barui (Hindu)— (Surma Valley) ...	541	398	61	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	915	85	...	272	690	38	50	730	220
Bhuinmali (Hindu)— (Sylhet) ...	514	433	53	1,000	...	...	999	1	...	907	92	1	236	732	42	20	798	182
Brahman (Hindu)— (Assam)	530	411	59	1,000	...	...	993	7	...	887	108	5	270	681	49	57	749	194
Chutia (Hindu)— (Upper Brahmaputra Valley).	591	345	64	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	956	39	5	286	640	74	28	754	218
Chutia (Animistic)— (Upper Brahmaputra Valley).	613	353	34	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	875	125	...	210	737	53	...	857	143
Dhoba (Hindu)— (Sylhet) ...	545	389	66	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	940	59	1	335	616	49	57	725	218
Goala (Hindu)— (Assam)	446	466	88	1,000	...	...	983	17	...	841	146	13	268	635	97	56	749	195
Jogi (Hindu)— (Assam)	564	382	54	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	924	74	2	269	683	49	31	777	192
Kaibartta Chasi (Hindu)— (Mahishya) (Assam) ...	612	347	41	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	963	37	...	449	524	27	60	787	153
Kachari (Hindu)— (Assam)	570	365	65	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	934	60	6	269	663	77	40	743	217
Kachari (Animistic)— (Brahmaputra Valley)...	553	402	45	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	858	138	4	165	762	53	17	826	157
Kalita (Hindu)— (Brahmaputra Valley)...	595	357	48	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	952	46	2	313	643	44	29	797	174
Kamar (Hindu)— (Assam) ...	508	424	68	1,000	...	...	991	9	...	868	122	10	180	735	85	32	774	194
Kayastha (Hindu)— (Assam)	556	398	46	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	947	51	2	340	632	28	60	774	166
Kewat (Hindu)— (Brahmaputra Valley) ...	599	353	48	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	957	40	3	301	653	46	29	797	174
Koch (Hindu)— (Brahmaputra Valley)...	597	353	50	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	961	36	3	293	655	52	27	796	177
Kumbar (Hindu)— (Assam) ...	556	378	66	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	917	79	4	316	635	49	30	726	235
Malo (Hindu) — (Sylhet) ...	572	374	54	1,000	...	...	995	5	...	925	74	1	445	523	32	79	733	188
Manipuri (Hindu)— (Kshattriya) (Assam)...	556	372	42	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	937	58	5	220	774	46	19	838	143
Mikir (Hindu)— (Brahmaputra Valley)...	570	400	30	1,000	...	...	994	6	...	899	97	4	214	750	36	21	883	96
Nadial (Hindu)— (Brahmaputra Valley)...	595	346	59	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	955	40	5	243	677	80	24	779	197
Namasudra (Hindu)— (Assam) ...	549	403	48	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	919	80	1	301	656	43	26	813	161
Napit (Hindu)— (Assam)	556	387	57	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	934	63	3	286	670	44	44	757	199
Patni (Hindu)— (Surma Valley) ...	533	419	48	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	907	92	1	260	699	41	28	805	167
Rajbansi (Hindu)— (Goalpara) ...	566	387	47	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	902	96	2	281	676	43	26	810	164
Saha (Hindu)— (Sylhet) ...	604	352	44	1,000	...	...	999	1	...	968	31	1	413	576	31	56	781	163
Sutradhar (Hindu)— (Assam) ...	573	379	48	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	957	42	1	354	612	34	44	781	175
Tanti (Hindu) (Sibsagar and Lakhimpur). ...	467	446	87	1,000	...	...	992	7	1	874	112	14	161	716	123	26	780	194
Teli (Hindu)— (Sylhet) ...	542	397	61	1,000	...	...	998	2	...	935	64	1	307	649	44	48	739	3

TABLE V.

sex at certain ages for selected castes.

Distribution of 1,000 females of each age by civil condition.																	
All ages.			0—5.			5—12.			12—20.			20—40.			40 and over.		
Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
526	354	120	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	734	258	8	35	855	110	3	432	565
408	429	163	1,000	...	...	963	34	3	115	862	23	25	831	144	...	321	679
300	424	276	1,000	...	...	862	133	5	41	900	59	4	696	300	2	173	825
266	467	267	999	1	...	788	209	3	26	921	53	5	722	273	1	197	802
341	427	232	1,000	...	...	874	122	4	106	833	61	8	748	244	4	250	746
492	375	133	1,000	...	...	993	6	1	673	319	8	36	857	107	5	406	589
532	349	119	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	522	478	...	40	840	120	...	375	625
278	415	307	999	1	...	846	147	7	51	859	90	7	660	333	3	166	831
314	494	192	999	1	...	886	111	3	256	701	43	16	797	187	6	357	637
357	407	236	1,000	...	...	896	102	2	195	750	55	10	737	253	3	242	755
347	377	276	1,000	...	...	924	72	4	99	842	59	6	687	307	3	152	845
520	374	106	1,000	...	...	993	6	1	721	265	14	42	851	107	4	500	496
488	402	110	1,000	...	...	993	7	...	534	457	9	38	877	85	5	482	513
441	381	178	1,000	...	...	970	29	1	473	514	14	20	830	150	2	297	701
363	465	167	1,000	...	...	930	69	1	346	602	52	20	815	165	5	363	632
353	399	248	1,000	...	...	931	67	2	142	819	39	11	733	256	3	201	797
453	374	173	1,000	...	...	981	19	...	555	430	15	24	835	141	3	317	680
459	374	167	1,000	...	...	987	13	...	568	418	14	29	831	140	4	320	676
329	387	284	1,000	...	...	893	105	2	194	737	69	14	690	296	1	175	824
295	409	296	1,000	...	...	864	132	4	57	859	84	7	664	329	2	175	823
458	383	159	1,000	...	...	991	8	1	534	427	39	21	824	155	6	442	552
512	406	82	1,000	...	...	991	9	...	673	314	13	60	873	67	10	631	359
486	367	147	1,000	...	...	996	4	...	545	429	26	31	820	149	5	361	634
314	438	248	1,000	...	...	851	145	4	50	898	52	7	731	262	2	213	785
334	408	258	1,000	...	...	891	105	4	78	856	66	10	705	285	1	200	799
302	446	252	999	1	...	839	156	5	45	901	54	8	720	272	9	206	785
351	440	209	1,000	...	...	854	140	6	124	808	68	7	731	262	1	369	630
335	381	284	1,000	...	...	919	78	3	87	848	65	5	680	315	2	170	828
326	412	262	998	2	...	912	87	1	67	863	70	8	703	289	2	189	809
371	494	135	1,000	...	...	971	28	1	510	455	35	22	837	141	5	436	559
289	421	290	1,000	...	...	845	149	6	32	899	69	11	660	329	2	192	806

APPEN

Terms of

Serial No.	Terms of relationship.	Darrang.	Newgong.	Lakhimpur.					Darrang.	North Cachar.	Garo Hills.					Khasi and Jaintia Hills.					Lushai Hills.	Naga Hills.						
		Miri.	Mikir.	Dafla.	Mishmi.	Khamti.	Singpho.	Deori Chutia.	Kachari (plains).	Kachari (hills).	Abong.	Dusalia.	Atong.	Rabha.	Hajong.	Khasi.	Lyngam.	Pnar.	Syntong.	Hadem.	Lalu.	Lushai.	Angami.	Sema.	Lhota.	Ao.	Kacha Naga.	Kuki Naga.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
1	Father	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
2	Son	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	1	×	×	×	×	...	×	×	×	×	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
3	Mother	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
4	Daughter ...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	3	×	×	×	×	...	...	×	×	×	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
5	Elder brother (m. s.)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
6	Younger brother (m. s.)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
7	Elder sister (w. s.)...	5	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	5	×	5	×	×	5	×	×	×	×	5	×
8	Younger sister (w. s.)	6	×	×	×	×	6	×	6	×	×	×	×	×	...	6	6	×	6	×	×	6	×	×	×	×	×	4
9	Elder sister (m. s.)	7	×	7	7	×	7	7	7	7	×	×	×	...	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
10	Elder brother (w. s.)	5	5	5	×	×	×	5	5	5	×	×	6	...	...	5	6	5	5	×	×	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
11	Younger sister (m. s.)	8	9	8	8	×	×	8	8	8	×	×	×	...	×	8	6	10	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
12	Younger brother (w. s.)	6	8	6	×	×	×	6	6	6	6	6	6	...	...	8	6	6	6	×	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
13	Father's brother ...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	1	×	×	×	×	1	×
14	Brother's child (m. s.)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	13	13	×	×	2	×	×	2	×	×	×	×	13	×	×	×	2	×	2	×
15	Father's brother's wife.	3	13	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	3	×	×	×	3	×	×	×	×	×	×
16	Husband's brother's child.	Not returned through a mistake																										
17	Father's brother's child.	5-12	×	5-12	×	×	×	5-12	5-12	5,10	×	6,7	5-8	5-12	...	×	12	×	×	×	5	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
18	Father's sister ...	×	×	9,11	3	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
19	Brother's child (w. s.)	×	×	14	...	×	×	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	×	×	×	14	×	×	×	14	14	14	14	14	14
20	Father's sister's husband.	×	×	...	...	×	×	...	×	18	×	×	×	×	18	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
21	Wife's brother's child	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	...	×	×	×	×	...	19	×	×	20	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	20	17
22	Father's sister's child	×	×	×	×	17	×	×	21	17	×	×	×	17	5-12	×	×	×	×	×	×	21	×	×	17	17	×	×
23	Mother's brother ...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	20	×	20	×	×	20	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	20	×	×	×
24	Sister's child (m. s.)	21	×	22	×	22	×	×	22	×	14	14	14	×	14	14	×	21	×	×	21	21	×	×	21	14	22	22
25	Mother's brother's wife.	×	18	×	3	×	×	×	9	×	×	18	18	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26	Husband's sister's child.	24	24	21	21	24	×	×	×	23, 25	×	×	17	24	×	21	×	×	24	21	14	...	×	×	21	14	×	24
27	Mother's brother's child.	22	×	21	×	19	×	...	17	22	×	×	×	22	22	22	×	×	×	22	×	23	×	×	22	19	×	×
28	Mother's sister ...	×	...	25	3	×	×	×	18	×	15	15	15	15	×	15	...	...	×	×	15	3	×	×	15	×	×	×
29	Sister's child (w. s.)	24	...	21	24	24	×	24	24	24	21	26	21	24	26	14	26	24	19	×	×	14	24	24	24	24	24	24
30	Mother's sister's husband.	13	×	21	×	23	×	13	13	×	×	×	×	×	13	14	×	13	×	×	×	13	×	×	13	28	×	×
31	Wife's sister's child	14, 19	...	21	26	...	...	×	21	...	14	14	14	14	14	×	×	14	14	×	29	29	×	×	2	21	×	21
32	Mother's sister's child.	×	...	×	×	22	...	5-12	22	22	17	17	17	17	22	×	×	17	17	17	8	17	×	×	22	17	22	2
33	Father's father ...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	25	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	23	×	×	×	×	×	27
34	Son's son (m. s.) ...	×	×	2	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	22	×
35	Father's mother ...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	33	...	×	×	×	×	×	25	×	×	×	×	×	15
36	Son's son (w. s.) ...	34	34	34	34	...	...	34	34	34	...	...	...	34	34	34	...	...	34	×	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34
37	Mother's father ...	33	33	33	33	×	×	33	33	×	×	×	33	33	...	33	33	33	×	33	33	33	33	33	33	×	34	33
38	Daughter's son (m. s.)	36	36	22	36	×	34	×	36	×	34	34	34	34	34	36	×	33	36	×	36	36	×	36	36	33	36	×
39	Mother's mother ...	35	35	35	35	×	35	35	35	×	×	×	...	...	...	×	35	35	×	35	35	35	×	35	35	×	35	35
40	Daughter's son (w. s.)	38	38	...	38	38	×	38	38	38	...	...	...	...	...	34	...	...	34	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38
41	Husband ...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
42	Wife	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	...	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	41	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
43	Wife's father ...	37	×	33	×	×	×	×	1	×	20	23	23	1	1	×	×	×	×	15	15	×	23	×	20	20	33	×
44	Daughter's husband (m. s.)	×	26	×	×	×	24	×	×	×	21	29	20	×	×	21	19	19	×	26	×	29	×	×	32	×	32	21
45	Wife's mother ...	35	×	35	×	×	×	×	3	×	25	25	25	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	18	×	18	×	18	×
46	Daughter's husband (w. s.)	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	×	44	44	44	44	44	44	44
47	Husband's father ...	43	×	33	43	45	×	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	×	×	1	43	43	43	43	43	1
48	Son's wife (m. s.) ...	×	×	×	×	×	21	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	44	44	×	45	×	46	×	×	44	×	×	46	46
49	Husband's mother ...	45	45	35	3	45	×	45	3	45	45	45	45	45	×	45	45	45	45	45	45	3	45	45	45	×	18	3
50	Son's wife (w. s.) ...	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	×	48	48	48	48	48	49	48	48	48	48	48
51	Wife's brother ...	×	27	21	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	27	×	27	×	33	×	×	×	27	×	×	×
52	Sister's husband (m. s.)	51	×	46	46	×	51	51	51	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	51	51	×	51	×	46	46	×	51	51	20	×
53	Wife's sister ...	×	27	×	51	×	50	51	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	32	×	×	51	×	51	17	×	×	×	50	×	×
54	Sister's husband (w. s.)	52	52	52	52	52	52	51	52	52	52	52	52	52	52	...	32	×	52	×	×	52	52	52	52	52	52	52
55	Husband's brother...	51	×	×	×	×	×	×	53	×	51	51	51	×	×	...	53	×	×	54	53	17	×	×	×	47	×	54
56	Brother's wife (m. s.)	×	×	50	×	×	50	47	×	...	50, 53	17, 50	50	×	×	7,8	53	×	×	×	×	53	×	×	50	53	15	2
57	Husband's sister ...	53	×	53	×	×	×	56	56	55	×	×	×	×	×	×	...	...	56	55	×	55	×	×	51	56	×	55
58	Brother's wife(w.s.)	×	×	56	56	56	57	56	56	...	56	56	56	56	56	56	...	...	56	53	56	56	56	56	56	56	56	56
59	Wife's sister's husband.	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	54	×	×	×	×	55	×	55	×	×	×	×	55	×	55
60	Husband's brother's wife.	×	58	50	×	×	8, 54	×	9,11	×	17	×	8	×	×	59	59	54	55	50	59	55	×	×	55	6	×	4
61	Son's wife's parents	×	×	30	...	×	58	52	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	32	×	58	×	×	×	×	×	49	54	43	54

NOTE.—The terms of relationship are entered serially in column 1. A cross indicates that the term used is different from any term preceding

DIX.

relationship.

Manipur.	Kuki of Manipur.												Manipuri Naga.					Tangkhul Naga.												
Wetthol.	Aimol.	Anal.	Chawte.	Chiru.	Kolhen.	Kom.	Purum.	Tikhup.	Vaiphei.	Rangte.	Marring.	Tirado.	Kacha.	Khowas.	Mao.	Marom.	Ukrul.	Tuinem.	Kachai.	Pungram.	Longbi khulan.	Chinglaroi.	Pui.	Mapum.	Chatrik.	Choithar.	Shangsak.	Shingkap.	Nambachi.	Lembakhul.	Tushen.
30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61
×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	1	×	×	×
×	×	×	2	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	2	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
×	×	×	1	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
×	5	5	×	×	×	5	×	5	×	5	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	6	6	×	×	6	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
×	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	8	7	7	7	7	×	5	×	×	7	7	7	7	7	7	×	×	7	7	7	7	×	5	×
×	5	×	×	5	5	×	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	8	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	7
×	×	×	×	8	8	×	×	×	8	8	8	8	8	8	×	8	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
×	×	×	×	8	6	×	8	×	6	6	6	6	6	6	×	6	×	×	8,6	×	×	6	6	8	×	×	6	×	×	×	×
																															6
×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	1	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
×	×	×	2,8	×	×	×	×	×	2,3	×	2	2,4	2,4	×	×	×	×	×	4	×	2	2,4	×	×	10	2,4	2,4	×	7	×	×
3	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	3	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	13	×	×	13	×	×	13	13	×	×	×
																															13
in Circular issued on the subject.																															
5—12	×	×	3,6	×	×	×	7,8	5,6	×	5-12	5,6	×	5,6	5-12	×	×	×	×	6	×	×	6	6,9	×	×	6	×	×	×	5	
																															6
×	×	15	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
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14	21	14	14	14	14	14	2,4	14	14	14	14	×	×	2	×	×	14	×	14	21	24	14	14	×	×	14	14	×	×	14	
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34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	×	34	34	34	29	34	34	34	×	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	24
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51	×	51	×	×	22	5,6	×	×	44	×	×	46	20	×	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	51	27
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22	×	×	6	×	6	52	×	×	×	×	×	×	52	6	52	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
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54				49 45	45													44			35	57			51						×

a number indicates that the term used is the same as that represented by the number.

CHAPTER VIII.

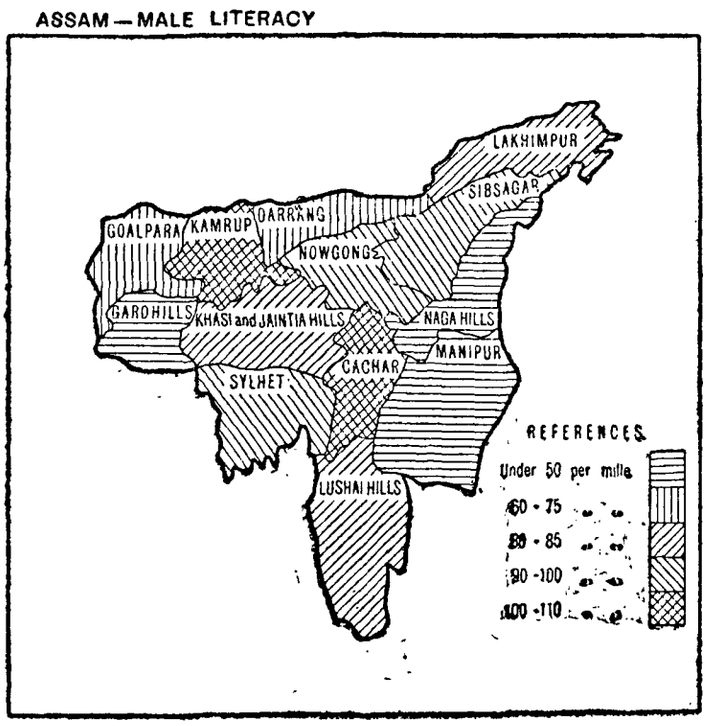
EDUCATION.

Meaning of the statistics.

92. The main statistics are contained in Imperial Table VIII, which divides the population simply into literate and illiterate and shows separately the number of those literate in English. At the last census an attempt was made to give the vernacular in which each person was able to read and write. In 1881 and 1891 the population was divided into persons learning, persons literate and persons illiterate, but this return was vitiated by the omission from the number of learners of children not long at school, who were returned as illiterate, and of advanced students who were shown as literate. The experience gained at each census has led to a simplification of the return, and this time, in order to establish some standard of literacy, it was laid down in the instructions that no one should be shown as able to read and write who could not write a letter to a friend and read the reply, the object being to exclude people who could merely write their names. As was explained in the last Census Report there is a danger that at the time of compilation omissions of literates will occur, because they form such a small proportion of the total population: this time in the case of one district, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, the original figures showed a decline in literacy and the work had to be done over again, with the result that an increase was ultimately obtained.

Extent of literacy.

93. In Assam out of a population of 7,059,857 there were returned in 1911 as having reached the standard of literacy above mentioned 333,672 persons, of whom 312,919 were males and 20,753 were females: in other words (*vide* Subsidiary Table II), in every thousand of the population there were only 47 who could read and write and in every thousand of either sex there were 86 literate men and 6 literate women. The Surma Valley stands first with 100 males and 7 females per mille of the population: in the Brahmaputra Valley the proportions are 85 and 5 respectively, and in the Hills 47 and 8: the last division thus takes the first place in the matter of female education. This distribution is natural in view of the conditions of each tract: the large number of immigrant coolies and of aboriginal tribes tends to lower the proportion of literates in the Brahmaputra Valley, and the comparatively high standard of literacy in the Hills is due mainly to the progress of education amongst the Khasis, of whom such a large proportion have been converted to Christianity. As in 1901, Cachar plains are the most advanced part of the province and are followed by Khasi and Jaintia Hills; Sylhet and Kamrup come next with 54 literates per mille; then follow Nowgong, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur and Goalpara; Darrang, the remaining district of the Brahmaputra Valley, stands below Lushai Hills, where there are no less than 81 males per mille who can read and write. The last three in order of precedence are Manipur, Garo Hills and Naga Hills.



The high position of Cachar has been maintained since 1891; I am at a loss to discover the cause and can only suggest that the fact of its being a small and temporarily settled district has made the people more go-ahead than their brethren in Sylhet and brings their needs more before the eyes of the district authorities. Nowgong

probably owes its superiority over Sibsagar and Lakhimpur to the large number of coolie immigrants in these two districts, and Goalpara is backward, because its Hindu population has not long been converted and it is still practically a border district, which is only now being opened up. Darrang contains a large proportion of the coolie class in addition to the Animists of the Bodo stock. Amongst the Animists in the Hills the Lushais seem to have an extraordinary keenness for learning, which is the more remarkable, because the administration of their district dates to quite recent times, but their advancement was a marked feature in 1901 and has been progressive since then.

Looking at the ages in Subsidiary Table II we see that the proportion of literates aged 15—20 is higher for both sexes than that at any other age period. This is a very satisfactory result and shows that education is progressing, because we may assume that the literates in this age group represent the children who have been under instruction during the last five years and have learned at least enough to reach the standard of literacy prescribed. That this high proportion holds good in each natural division shows that the rate of progress is not confined to any one part, but is general all over the province. Indeed the only district in which there is an apparently serious decrease at this age period is Goalpara, where the males aged 20 and over are 17 per mille more numerous, but even there the female proportion at the crucial age is high. So that taking it all round, there is every reason for satisfaction at the present position.

Literacy by religion.

94. Subsidiary Tables I and III enable us to consider the relative progress of the four main religions. The proportion of literates is highest amongst Christians, who include of course the European community, but Indian Christians are very much more advanced than their fellow countrymen, as will be seen from Subsidiary Table I where separate figures are shown for them. This result is due to the efforts of missionaries to spread education, and the very high proportion of literacy among Indian female Christians shows how successful they have been. Hindus naturally take precedence of the other religions: Muhammadans have generally up to recent times refused to recognize any advantage in education, and amongst the Animistic tribes, who are usually backward, the literates mostly become Christians. We should exclude the Hills when considering the education of Hindus and Muhammadans, because there the followers of these two religions are nearly all foreigners, usually in Government service. In the plains the Hindus of Sylhet stand first with 158 male literates per mille and are followed in order by those in Nowgong, Kamrup and Cachar plains. Muhammadans are more advanced in the Brahmaputra Valley, where there must be a large proportion of literates amongst the immigrant Moslems, than in the Surma Valley, where they are practically all cultivators: but the figures of female literacy in Nowgong, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur would point to the conclusion that the local Muhammadan community of these districts is really very advanced: it is not improbable that the general freedom of women amongst their Hindu neighbours has led by imitation to this desirable result. Lushai Animists have a higher proportion of male literates than the Khasis, because of the large number of Christians among the latter: the Garos and the Nagas are most backward of all the Animists including those in the plains, whose strong attraction to Hinduism should lower their proportion of literates.

Literacy by caste.

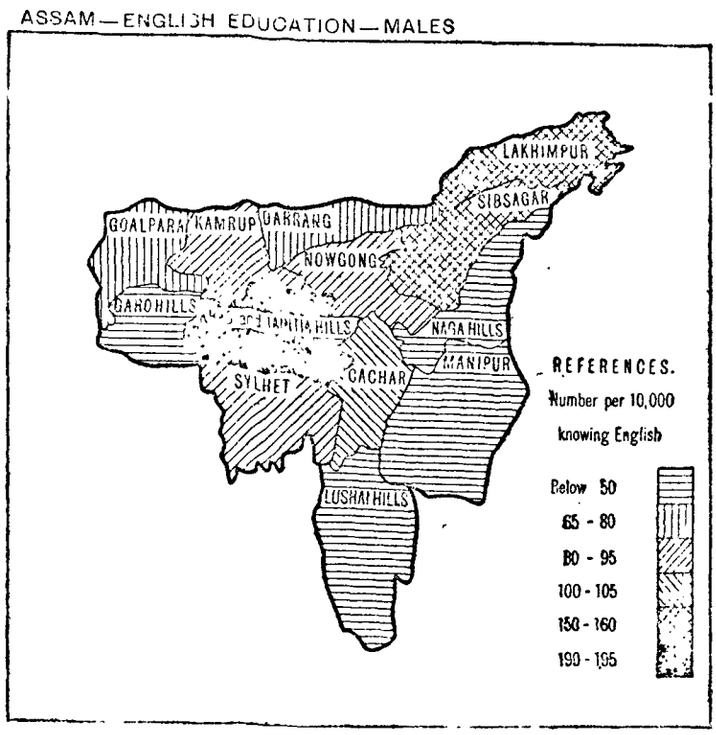
95. Subsidiary Table VI gives the proportion of literates and of literates in English in a number of selected castes: as might be expected, the most advanced are the higher castes, the Baidyas, the Kayasthas and the Brahmans, the number of literate persons per mille amongst them being 560,360 and 324, respectively. After them there is a huge gap and the Telis are the only other community with more than 10 per cent. of literates. The Baruis and Sutras of the Surma Valley come next and are followed by the Chasi Kaibarttas or Mahishyas, who really belong to the same locality. The first of the castes peculiar to the Brahmaputra Valley is the Kalita in which only 79 persons per thousand can read and write. Of the race castes, the Ahoms stand first with 61 literate per mille and the second are the Rajbansis with 56: the next in order are the Chutiyas, the Manipuri Kshattriyas, and the Hindu Kacharis; the lowest in the list are the Mikirs, among whom there are only 3 literates per thousand and not a single female who has received the merest rudiments of education.

Although it is anticipating the next paragraph, it may not be out of place to glance at the extent of literacy in English by castes. The number of females who know English is generally so low that with the exception of the three high castes mentioned above they may be neglected, though it is interesting to note that one woman per 10,000 has received some sort of an English education amongst the Goalas, Chasi Kaibarttas, Kewats, Nadials, and Tantis. The Baidyas are overwhelmingly first in

the number of both sexes who are literate in English, and the Kayasthas and Brahmans follow in the same order as for general literacy. The Ahoms, Kalitas and Kacharis are the next most advanced, but they are a very long way behind the higher castes. The relatively high position of these castes is confirmed by the statistics of the Brahmaputra Valley generally which are given in the following paragraph.

English education.

96. Proportional statistics of literacy in English by age and locality are given in Subsidiary Table IV and by religion in Subsidiary Table I. In the whole province there are only 94 males and 4 females out of 10,000 of either sex who can read and write in this language, the Brahmaputra Valley standing first for males and the Hills for females. The high proportion in the latter division is here again due to the advanced position of the Khasi Hills which stand first in the whole province in the knowledge of English possessed by either sex; no doubt the Government offices at Shillong contributed very considerably to this result. In the plains the highest proportion of literates in English of both sexes is in Lakhimpur, which is closely followed by Sibsagar; Cachar comes next, but Sylhet ranks behind Nowgong and Kamrup and takes precedence of only Darrang and Goalpara in the Brahmaputra Valley. It is an interesting fact that in the plains female education in English is most advanced in the east of the province, presumably on account of the absence of the purdah system. In the Hills the people of North Cachar stand second, the Lushais are a bad third and are followed in order by the Manipuris, Nagas and Garos. It is noteworthy that in the plains the knowledge of English is more widespread in the tea districts than elsewhere if we exclude Darrang, which is very backward in the matter of education: this is in part due to the proportionately large number of Europeans in these districts, but this face will not wholly account for the figures and we may assume that it is due to the desire for employment on tea gardens: Sylhet which takes the third place in general literacy sinks to the seventh in English education and Kamrup becomes the sixth instead of the fourth.



The statistics by age periods indicate that the present conditions are very favourable for progress in each natural division and for both sexes, the number at the test period, 15—20, being higher than that at any other period. It would appear that the Khasi Hills will maintain its supremacy as far as females are concerned, but that it will soon fall behind Sibsagar in the proportion of males who know English. Indeed it looks as if the progress of English education amongst boys in the Khasi Hills had received a check, because the proportion at the age period 20 and over is greater than that between 15 and 20, but this is probably temporary and may be due to the mortality amongst children noticed at the last census.

Turning to the statistics by religion we find that Christians are an easy first and that the exclusion of Christians other than Indian does not alter their superiority. Of the rest, Hindus have the greatest proportion and are followed in order by Buddhists, Muhammadans and Animists.

Progress of education.

97. Now that we have considered the present extent of literacy by locality, religion and castes, the important question of the progress of education may be taken up: the materials are contained in Subsidiary Tables IV, V and VII-X, of which the most important is Table V which shows the progress in literacy since 1881. There is a difficulty with regard to the censuses before 1901 owing to the attempt made to show those learning separately

from the literate: the statistics given in Subsidiary Table V for 1891 take no account of persons under 15 years of age and include in the number of literates persons over that age who were shown in 1891 as learning: unfortunately it is impossible to do the same for 1881, because separate age statistics for the learners and the literates are not available. Taking the proportion per mille for all ages we find continual progress and a remarkable advance since the last census: there are now 86 males and 6 females able to read and write per thousand of either sex against 67 and 4, respectively, in 1901 and 62 and 2 in 1891. The rate of increase is highest in the Brahmaputra Valley and lowest in the Hills, where there are apparent decreases since 1901 in North Cachar and Naga Hills, due in the former case to the removal of the railway construction staff and in the latter to the reduction of the regimental strength at Kohima. In the Brahmaputra Valley the increase of male literacy since 1901 has been no less than 46·5 per cent., in the Surma Valley over 20 per cent. and in the Hills 17·5 per cent.: of the districts, Nowgong has made the greatest advance, almost 76 per cent. The rate of progress in female education is also very high, though the actual numbers affected is small: there are now 50 per cent. more females able to read and write than there were ten years ago and 200 per cent. more than in 1891: in the intercensal period the proportion in the Brahmaputra Valley has increased by 66 per cent. and in the Surma Valley by 75 per cent., but has declined a little in the Hills, mainly owing to a fall in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. It will be noticed that the decrease of literacy amongst the females of this district coexists with the absence of any progress amongst the males. I have noted in the introductory paragraph of this chapter that the figures at first compiled showed an absolute decrease in the total number of literates and that an absolute increase was eventually obtained: but we are faced with the proportional decrease. Enquiries regarding the cause of this brought to light an interesting fact, which is vouched for by Rev. Mr. J. Evans of the Welsh Mission, who is Head Master of the Shillong High School and has extensive experience of education amongst the Khasis. It appears that there are large numbers of Khasis who can read but cannot write: at the last census such persons were wrongly entered as literate, and probably would have been again so returned but for the rule about reading and writing a letter which was introduced at this census: enquiries made amongst missionaries and others in charge of census operations in the district point to the conclusion that in most cases, but not all, such people were now shown as illiterate. The causes of this curious phenomenon are two: firstly, in a simple community a knowledge of writing is unimportant and the people seem to regard primary education mainly as a means towards reading the Bible and the hymns: secondly, the missionaries, whose main object is to evangelise, are not inclined to force the children to stay on at school against the wishes of their parents once they have advanced far enough to read. The result is that we have a large number who, though passed out of school, have not attained the standard of education prescribed for census purposes.

The test age period shows the same remarkable progress in the province as a whole: there are now 126 literate males and 12 literate females per mille of those aged 15—20 in comparison with 92 and 8 at the last census. In the Brahmaputra Valley the increase amongst males since 1901 has been nearly 52 per cent., in the Surma Valley nearly 32 per cent. and in the Hills nearly 24: amongst females the corresponding rates are 66 per cent. and 83 per cent. in the two valleys, but in the Hills there has been a drop of 10 per cent. mainly owing to the decrease amongst the Khasis.

I think that it will not be disputed that the great advance in education within the last ten years is due partly to the fact that more money was available for this purpose and partly to the method in which the sums allotted were spent. The introduction of the system of payment by results in public primary schools has resulted, as will be seen from Subsidiary Table VII, in an increase since 1901 of 21·6 per cent. in the number of schools and of 53·3 per cent. in the number of pupils. The theory on which the system is based, *i.e.*, that the popularity of education depends more on the teacher than on the people, seems to be confirmed by the statistics. There are equally encouraging results in secondary education: though the number of public schools has grown by only 4·6 per cent., the pupils attending them have increased by over 49 per cent. The results of the University examinations given in Subsidiary Table VIII show the same advance: there were nearly twice as many candidates for the Entrance Examination in 1911 as there were in 1901 and the same proportion succeeded in passing. The number

of those who pass the First Arts in a single year has more than quadrupled since the last census, while apparently the number of those graduating has risen from *nil* in 1901 to 7 in 1911. The statistics given in Subsidiary Tables IX and X show the development in publications. The number of periodicals has increased from 8 to 19 within the last ten years and their total circulation has more than doubled: there are no daily papers yet, but we have now 5 weeklies in comparison with 3 in 1901; their total circulation, however, is so small that it is evident that the reading-public are very few outside the Khasi Hills, where the number of copies issued has increased nearly ten times since 1901 and apparently one person in forty is a subscriber. An interesting feature is the fact that two monthlies are now published in Lushai. The number of books published in the last decade has increased by nearly 65 per cent. in comparison with the previous intercensal period, in spite of the incompleteness of the figures for 1905, 1906 and 1908 and probably for 1903. The apparent decrease in Bengali publications is due to the fact that Calcutta is an easier printing centre for authors in that language, and it is probable that books in other languages intended for Assam were also printed and published there.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Education by age, sex and religion.

Religion.	Number per mille who are literate.											Number per mille who are literate in English.		
	All ages.			0—10.		10—15.		15—20.		20 and over.				
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
All	47	86	6	15	2	94	11	126	12	121	7	5	9	...
Hindu	65	119	8	23	3	134	14	172	15	159	8	7	13	...
Musalman	31	57	2	9	1	63	4	81	4	87	2	2	5	...
Christian	189	253	124	29	24	232	179	387	232	368	152	63	92	33
Indian Christian (including Feringis).	159	213	105	84	59	Ages 0—15.		382	223	298	120	28	43	13
Other Christians	891	926	814	250	350			871	830	1,000	983	879	917	795
Animistic	7	13	1	1	...	13	2	23	2	20	1	1	1	...
Buddhist	68	113	5	7	1	81	5	149	3	150	7	4	6	...
Others	540	661	126	127	50	627	155	781	191	724	150	44	48	29

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Education by age, sex and locality.

District and Natural Division.	Number per mille who are literate.										
	All ages.			0—10.		10—15.		15—20.		20 and over.	
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ASSAM	47	86	6	15	2	94	11	126	12	121	7
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	47	85	5	13	2	93	9	129	10	119	5
Goalpara	41	74	4	10	1	71	7	94	8	111	5
Kamrup	54	102	5	14	2	128	9	172	12	144	5
Darrang	34	62	3	8	1	53	4	86	7	87	3
Nowgong	51	95	5	18	2	113	11	141	11	135	5
Sibsagar...	50	90	6	15	2	98	10	143	12	123	6
Lakhimpur	45	80	5	12	2	82	11	121	11	109	6
SURMA VALLEY	55	100	7	21	3	112	11	142	11	139	7
Cachar plains	61	110	8	23	4	119	11	157	13	151	8
Sylhet	54	98	6	20	2	110	11	139	11	136	7
HILLS	27	47	8	4	2	42	14	73	18	69	10
Garo Hills	12	21	2	1	...	17	3	40	5	31	3
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	55	81	31	10	7	80	56	117	65	119	34
North Cachar	27	47	4	1	2	24	4	38	8	77	5
Naga Hills	9	16	1	1	...	11	1	24	2	24	1
Manipur	21	40	1	4	...	41	2	66	2	60	2
Lushai Hills	40	81	3	2	...	48	4	119	7	124	3

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Education by religion, sex and locality.

District and Natural Division.	Number per mille who are literate.							
	Hindu.		Musalman.		Christian.		Animist.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASSAM	119	8	57	2	253	124	13	1
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	101	5	74	5	215	80	12	...
Goalpara ...	98	5	42	1	164	51	9	...
Kamrup ...	129	6	83	5	304	114	14	...
Darrang ...	79	4	82	3	231	77	9	...
Nowgong ...	136	6	132	17	265	179	13	...
Sibsagar ...	93	5	171	16	195	63	8	..
Lakhimpur ...	84	5	209	14	227	71	16	...
SURMA VALLEY ...	151	12	53	1	474	253	15	1
Cachar plains ...	126	10	81	1	401	214	16	1
Sylhet ...	158	12	50	1	492	260	13	1
HILLS ...	90	5	73	5	259	137	14	2
Garo Hills ...	67	3	34	1	213	53	2	...
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	346	129	305	76	271	166	26	6
North Cachar ...	71	5	150	66	425	250	4	2
Naga Hills ...	320	8	335	125	64	20	2	...
Manipur ...	63	2	41	2	679	417	2	...
Lushai Hills ...	389	22	261	...	429	72	48	1

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

English education by age, sex and locality.

District and Natural Division.	Literate in English per 10,000.											
	1911.										1901.	
	0—10.		10—15.		15—20.		20 and over.		All ages.		All ages.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ASSAM	4	1	88	5	196	8	134	6	94	4	61	4
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	5	1	99	3	225	6	155	6	108	4	75	6
Goalpara	4	...	69	2	155	2	90	3	66	2	46	2
Kamrup	4	...	103	2	250	7	117	5	88	3	54	2
Darrang	3	...	41	1	124	2	119	6	79	3	66	3
Nowgong	4	...	91	2	178	10	139	4	92	3	51	2
Sibsagar	9	1	146	5	311	7	210	8	152	5	102	13
Lakhimpur	6	2	111	6	268	12	235	12	160	8	121	8
SURMA VALLEY	3	...	90	2	197	4	122	4	88	2	48	1
Cachar plains	3	...	110	7	208	9	147	7	105	5	32	4
Sylhet	3	...	86	2	195	4	117	3	85	2	51	1
HILLS	4	2	49	16	114	21	105	14	68	11	59	10
Garo Hills	...	...	4	...	32	2	31	3	18	1	12	3
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	14	7	166	71	282	81	296	49	194	42	163	35
North Cachar	2	...	22	...	111	15	170	10	104	6	125	13
Naga Hills	...	...	4	1	44	4	35	3	23	2	23	2
Manipur	1	...	31	2	74	6	45	2	32	1	12	1
Lushai Hills	2	1	...	...	89	2	66	5	43	3	45	2

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Progress of education since 1881.

District and Natural Division.	Number of literate per mille.																	
	All ages.										15—20.				20 and over.			
	Male.					Female.					Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.	
				1881.*					1881.*									
	1911.	1901.	1891.	Learning.	Literate.	1911.	1901.	1891.	Learning.	Literate.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
ASSAM	86	67	61	13	23	6	4	2	...	1	126	92	12	8	121	94	7	5
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	85	58	52	10	24	5	3	2	...	1	129	85	10	6	119	82	5	4
Goalpara	74	49	48	8	22	4	2	2	...	1	94	63	8	3	111	73	5	3
Kamrup	102	68	49	11	32	5	2	1	...	...	172	116	12	5	144	100	5	3
Darrang	62	52	45	10	21	3	3	1	...	1	86	72	7	6	87	72	3	3
Nowgong	95	54	48	8	19	5	1	2	...	...	141	72	11	3	135	79	5	2
Sibsagar	96	61	60	14	35	6	4	2	...	1	143	88	12	8	123	81	6	5
Lakhimpur	80	62	67	10	32	5	5	3	1	1	121	85	11	6	109	84	6	6
SURMA VALLEY	100	83	76	18	43	7	4	2	...	1	112	108	11	6	139	118	7	5
Cachar plains	110	91	95	13	46	8	4	3	...	1	157	117	13	6	151	120	8	4
Sylhet	98	81	73	18	42	6	4	2	...	1	139	106	11	6	136	115	7	5
HILLS	47	40	28	7	13	8	9	7	2	1	73	59	18	20	69	57	10	10
Garo Hills	21	15	13	3	5	2	2	1	...	...	40	21	5	5	31	24	3	2
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	81	81	46	14	20	31	34	14	5	3	117	122	65	66	119	110	34	33
North Cachar	47	76	12	...	1	4	5	...	...	...	38	57	8	5	77	96	5	7
Naga Hills	16	25	16	...	14	1	1	...	...	...	24	39	2	3	24	56	1	2
Manipur	40	19	...	..	..	1	...	...	...	...	60	27	2	1	60	31	2	1
Lushai Hills	81	51	...	...	..	3	1	...	...	...	119	89	7	2	124	78	3	1

* As age statistics for 1881 are not available, the figures for learning and literate are shown separately: persons over 15 years of age who were returned as "learning" in 1891 have been treated as "literate."

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Education by Caste.

Caste.	Number per 1,000 who are literate.						Number per 10,000 who are literate in English.					
	1911.			1901.			1911.			1901.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Ahom	61	114	3	31	59	2	88	168	2	50	97	1
Baidya	560	726	362	419	596	206	2,373	4,214	180	1,469	2,654	72
Barui	96	184	5	58	107	5	41	80	...	17	33	...
Bhuinmali	20	38	1	13	26	1	3	6	...	...	1	...
Brahman	374	546	54	297	517	27	489	882	11	330	592	8
Chutiya (Hindu)	50	96	2	24	46	...	41	80	...	24	47	...
Chutiya (Animistic)	13	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dhoba	23	42	2	24	45	1	3	7	...	7	14	...
Goala	31	54	2	23	40	3	12	21	1	9	16	...
Jugi	59	111	5	33	62	2	13	25	...	4	8	...
Kaibartta Chasi (Mahishya)	82	149	8	18	34	1	59	111	1	9	18	...
Kachari (Hindu)...	40	81	2	7	14	...	73	151	...	5	11	...
Kachari (Animist)	7	14	...				2	3	...			
Kalita	7	14	5	50	93	2	81	157	...	47	81	1
Kamar	45	86	2	22	42	2	18	35	...	10	19	1
Kayastha	61	109	11	29	54	5	1,141	1,541	24	43	81	9
Kewat	40	71	2	34	71	2	60	113	1	29	56	...
Koch	43	81	2	31	61	1	3	6	...	16	31	1
Kumhar	41	80	1	23	44	1	41	80	...	11	18	...
Kshatriya (Manipuri)	20	39	1	13	25	2	20	39	...	6	13	...
Mali	4	8	1	2	4	...	4	7	...	3	6	...
Mochi	2	4	...	1	1	...	1	2	...	..	..	..
Nadial	37	70	3	20	37	2	28	54	1	5	10	..
Namasudra	23	44	1	11	21	1	9	17	...	1	2	...
Napit	61	113	3	47	87	2	20	40	..	11	21	...
Patni	36	67	4	..	...	...	7	16	...	...	...	...
Rajbansi	76	147	2	40	78	1	7	15	..	10	20	1
Sudra	90	172	8	11	21	1	51	105	...	47	95	...
Sutradhar	49	90	2	31	61	1	10	19	...	9	17	...
Tanti	9	17	1	18	35	3	15	28	1	14	27	1
Teli	109	203	11	56	114	3	51	99	...	16	30	1

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Number of Institutions and Pupils according to the returns of the Education Department.

Class of Institution.	1911.		1901.		1891.	
	Number of		Number of		Number of	
	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ALL KINDS ...	4,118	168,250	3,458	109,800	2,640	78,784
PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS ...	3,939	162,193	3,196	104,308	2,355	72,995
Arts Colleges ...	2	230	1	49	...	...
Secondary schools...	157	20,836	150	13,980	110	10,309
Primary „ ...	3,658	136,527	3,006	89,050	2,222	62,145
Training „ ...	9	361	22	380	16	331
Other special „ ...	113	4,239	17	849	7	210
PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS	179	6,057	262	5,492	285	5,789
Advanced ...	19	710	89	2,431	96	1,852
Elementary ...	25	354	1	18	19	462
Teaching the Koran only	117	3,957	166	2,916	162	3,168
Other schools not conforming to the departmental standard.	18	1,036	6	127	8	307

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.

Main results of University Examinations.

Examination.	1911.		1901.		1891.	
	Candidates.	Passed.	Candidates.	Passed.	Candidates.	Passed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Matriculation (Entrance) ...	355	233	180	122	167	70
F. A. or Intermediate Examination, 1st B. A., or 1st B. Sc.	76	56	29	13	...	...
Degrees in Arts	10	7	...	...	...	...
„ Medicine	...	...	...	...	...	...
„ Law	...	...	...	...	...	...
Civil Engineering	...	...	...	...	...	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.

Number and circulation of newspapers, etc.

Language.	Class of newspapers: (daily, weekly, etc.	1911.		1901.	
		No.	Circulation.	No.	Circulation.
1	2	3	4	5	6
TOTAL...		*19*	*11,855*	*8*	*5,015*
		4	*1,200*	*2*	*1,615*
I. English	Weekly	3	1,100	2	1,615
	Fortnightly	1	100	...	.....
		4	*2,710*	*1*	*1,500*
II. Assamese	Weekly	1	950	1	1,500
	Monthly	3	1,760	...	.....
		1	*475*	*1*	*400*
III. Bengali	Monthly	1	475	...	.....
	Bi-monthly	...	.....	1	400
		1	*800*	*2*	*900*
IV. Bengali-English	Weekly	1	800	...	.....
	Fortnightly	...	...	1	400
	Monthly	...	...	1	500
V. Lushai	Monthly	2	870	...	.....
VI. Khasi	Monthly	7	5,800	2	600

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.

Number of books published in each language.

Language.	Number of books published in										Total in decade.	
	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1901 to 1910.	1891 to 1900.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
TOTAL	22	37	6	21	26	16	78	19	60	58	343	208
English	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	2	1	...	10	...
Assamese	7	20	1	16	17	10	48	9	32	29	189	86
Assamese-English	...	1	1	2	1	1	2	...	...	1	9	4
Bengali	4	6	...	1	5	5	16	2	13	17	69	78
Bengali-English	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	
Lushai	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...
Khasi	7	7	3	1	...	...	2	1	7	6	34	21
Khasi-English	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
Khasi-Latin	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2
Khasi-Bengali	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Garo	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Garo-English	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	..
Manipuri	...	1	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Nagri	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	5	3	...	16	...
Sanskrit	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	..	1	..	3	4
Sanskrit-Bengali	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	
Sanskrit-Assamese	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...
Sanskrit-English	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...

NOTE.—(1) The figures for 1905, 1906, and 1908 are incomplete, but no further information is available.
(2) The figures in columns 10 and 11 against Bengali include 3 and 4 books respectively in Musalmani-Bengali.

CHAPTER IX.

LANGUAGE.

Scope of chapter.

98. The publication of the volumes of the Linguistic Survey since the last census has rendered superfluous a great deal of discussion which might otherwise be entered into in this chapter. Besides this, the subject was very extensively treated by Mr. Gait in 1891 and by Mr. Allen in the last Census Report. It is worthy of mention, however, that the present returns disclose the names of three new languages, Vaiphei, Chote and Tarau, of which Chote alone appears in the Linguistic Survey: the other two have been added on the authority of Colonel Shakespear, Political Agent in Manipur, who reports that the names represent Kuki clans which were shown together under some other heading at the last census, and have now been differentiated by his enquiries in connection with a monograph on the Kukis. It may be noted that no attempt has been made in Imperial Table X or in the Subsidiary Tables of this Chapter to make any rearrangement based on birth-place or religion: indeed the only language which afforded an opportunity for this was Hindi, but in view of its unimportance in Assam I decided to leave the figures stand without any adjustment.

Scheme of classification.

99. The scheme of classification of languages given in the last India Census Report has been modified on the suggestion of Sir G. Grierson in accordance with later investigations by the Linguistic Survey. There are a number of changes as far as Assam is concerned. A close connection has been established between Munda and the Mon-khmer family, which includes Khasi: these have now been placed together as branches of what is called the Austroasiatic family, and the Dravido-Munda family of 1901 no longer exists. Sir G. Grierson would cancel the section of the last India Census Report dealing with the Tibeto-Himalayan branch, the true facts of which are contained in Volume III, Part I, of the Linguistic Survey. Mikir is no longer classed as being in the Naga-Bodo sub-group: following Sir C. J. Lyall's arguments in the Mikir Monograph, Sir G. Grierson now considers it as a connecting link between the Nagas and the Kuki-Chins and most nearly related to the southern Chin group. In Imperial Table X the languages have been arranged alphabetically within varying subordinate divitions; it would have taken up too much space to give all the appropriate headings and an alphabetical arrangement was considered easier for the ordinary reader, while the expert would not lose very much thereby. The classification of the Linguistic Survey is shown in Subsidiary Table I for all but very minor languages. In order that the reader may have a general idea of the system, I give herewith the main lines of division so far as Assam is concerned. There are four main families, *viz.*:—Austroasiatic, Tibeto-Chinese, Dravidian and Indo-European. The first contains the Mon-khmer and Munda sub-families. The second is divided into two sub-families, Tibeto-Burman and Siamese-Chinese, of which the former contains three branches, Tibeto-Himalayan, North Assam, and Assam-Burmese, and the latter two groups of which the Tai group only is found in Assam. The Dravidian family is spoken only by tea coolies and is divided into the Dravida and Andhra groups with Gond as a connecting link between the two. The Aryan sub-family of the Indo-European family is made up of the Eranian and the Indian branches, of which the latter is divided into a non-Sanskrit and a Sanskritic sub-branch. It is only with eastern group of the latter that we are mainly concerned, for it contains Assamese, Bengali, Bihari and Oriya: there are five other groups based on geographical considerations.

Accuracy of the return.

100. I am afraid that the return of language in Assam will always be marred by a certain amount of inaccuracy, though no doubt the error will show a gradual diminution at each successive census. It is probable that the statistics now given more nearly represent facts than those of 1901, but it is imposible to say that they are entirely free from error. The causes of inaccuracy were referred to in paragraph 151 of the last Census Report. The language of the large foreign population is often returned as Bengali, and most of the aboriginal tribes in the plains are bilingual and are just as likely to return Assamese for their mother tongue as their own language. As an example of the difficulty of correct enumeration I may mention the case of the Deputy

Commissioner of Lakhimpur, who had a list prepared of the different languages spoken by *ex*-coolie settlers: the enumerators, blindly following a rule of thumb, were satisfied that they were carrying out their orders with precision when they entered the parents as speaking Hindi and their infant born in Lakhimpur as speaking Assamese. As a matter of fact it is very difficult to say what language these settlers speak: it is usually a *patois* picked up on the garden which recruited them and has a vocabulary made up of Hindi, Bengali and Assamese words in proportions varying according to the tea district and to the district of recruitment: Hindi predominates in Lakhimpur, but in other districts the number of Assamese words increases westwards and eventually the dialect becomes Assamese with a mixture of Bengali or Hindi words. To the Assamese enumerator of the eastern Brahmaputra Valley these dialects are all one, *i.e.*, foreign, which in Assamese is translated by the word Bengali. To quote the words of the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur:—

> The main difficulty arose over the language, as even the clerks could not generally distinguish Hindi as spoken in Bhagalpur and Chota Nagpur from Bengali: indeed but for my having served for seven years in Bihar, the census would have shown many thousands more Bengali speakers: even Central Provinces and United Provinces coolies were repeatedly entered as speaking Bengali: others avoided the difficulty by entering Tanti *Bhasha*, Manjhi *Bhasha* and so on, or such names as Raipuri, Bilaspuri, besides the ever-green 'deshwali'. The east coast coolies were continually a difficulty and it was easier to find out what their language was not than what it was.

The language question in Goalpara.

101. A further difficulty arose in Goalpara. According to the Linguistic Survey the dialect of western and south-western Goalpara is pure Rajbansi, a Bengali dialect in use in the north-east of the Rajshahi Division, while in the eastern part of the district the dialect is western Assamese, *i.e.*, Assamese influenced by the neighbouring Rajbansi Bengali: the main divergencies between this dialect and standard Assamese will be found on page 414 of Volume V, Part I, of the Linguistic Survey. It would appear, then, that expert opinion has decided that the people of the east of Goalpara speak Assamese. The number of people returned as speaking the latter language at the last four censuses in Goalpara is given in the margin: it shows the rapid decline up to 1901 and sudden rise at the present census. From local enquiries during the last cold weather (1911-1912) it would appear that the language of Hindus in the east of at least Dhubri subdivision was shown as Assamese mixed with Bengali in the schedules of 1901, and apparently this was classed as Bengali in the tables, though Sir G. Grierson is of opinion that it is Assamese. The Goalpara district schedules of the present census contained very many corrections in the language column, and on examination it was discovered that, though parents born in Kamrup were shown as speaking Assamese, those of their children, living in the same house, who were born in Goalpara, were returned as speaking Bengali, while their brothers born in Kamrup apparently followed their parents. The absurdity of this led to further enquiries which showed that in a few instances persons born in Rangpur and living in the west of Dhubri subdivision were returned as Assamese speakers. It appeared then that the returns were vitiated, mostly in the direction of showing less Assamese and more Bengali speakers than really existed.

1881 ...	... 106,153
1891 ...	... 27,595
1901	11,397
1911 ...	... 85,329

At my request the Commissioner of the Assam Valley consented to have the schedules checked on the spot during the last cold weather. It came to light that there was a good deal of local feeling on the subject, and that changes from original entries of Assamese to Bengali had been made under the orders of the Census Officer of the district and some Charge Superintendents. In order to obviate further difficulties on the score of racial prejudice, the enquiry was made personally by Mr. F. M. Clifford, Deputy Commissioner, and Mr. J. E. Friend-Pereira, Subdivisional Officer: the former, limiting his investigations to the Sidli and Bijni Duars in the east of Dhubri subdivision, visited nearly every village inhabited by people other than Meches and questioned them; the latter enquired locally in Goalpara subdivision into all entries which he marked as doubtful on the score of caste and birthplace. The result of the enquiry was to show an increase in Assamese speakers of 30,607 and a decrease in Bengali speakers of 30,907, the difference representing people who should have been shown as speaking Rabha (251), Hindi (26), Garo (20), Mech (2), and Pashto (1). From an inspection of the schedules, I would deduct 500 from the increase in Assamese speakers and add it to the number of Bengali speakers, to allow for wrong entries in the west of Dhubri subdivision. On this basis we get the number of those speaking either language as shown in the margin. Imperial Table X shows the numbers as actually returned in the schedules without any adjustment and I should be inclined to say that the estimated figures given above are, if anything, an under-statement of those speaking Assamese.

Assamese	... 115,436
Bengali	... 317,365

In view of the rather vague ideas which have hitherto existed on the language question of Goalpara district, it is desirable that the facts as they exist should be shown separately for either subdivision. Sir G. Grierson's view points to the conclusion that Dhubri subdivision is Bengali-speaking and Goalpara subdivision Assamese-speaking. We must exclude Christians and followers of minor religions, because statistics for them are available for the district only, but their number is so small that it is really negligible. The numbers of speakers of either language in both subdivisions as enumerated and as revised by local enquiries in the manner indicated above are shown in the margin. It is clear that in Goalpara subdivision the predominant language is Assamese, and equally clear that Bengali is the language of Dhubri subdivision. Indeed in the latter the number of those speaking Mech or plains Kachari, 56,528, is greater than that of the Assamese speakers, while in Goalpara 36,081 persons returned Mech or Kachari as their mother tongue and they are more numerous than those who speak Bengali, as ascertained by local enquiry.

I.—*As per tables.*	Bengali.	Assamese.
Dhubri	303,417	3,888
Goalpara	44,256	81,357
II.—*As revised.*		
Dhubri	287,189	20,116
Goalpara	30,077	95,236

102. Subsidiary Table I shows the total number of speakers of the important languages in thousands in 1901 and 1911 and their proportion per mille of the population in the latter year. It will not be inappropriate to consider in turn each of the four main families referred to above: their respective importance is shown by the figures of distribution given in the margin: it will be noticed that three-fourths of the people speak Indo-European languages and that the Dravidian family is of the least importance.

Linguistic distribution.

Austroasiatic	...	48
Tibeto-Chinese	...	184
Dravidian	...	8
Indo-European	...	752
Minor languages	...	8
Total	...	1,000

The *Austroasiatic* family accounts for 48 per mille of the population: of its two branches Khasi, which is the sole representative of the Mon-Khmer sub-family, is confined to Khasi and Jaintia Hills and the Munda languages, Santhali, Mundari, Bhumij and Kharia, are spoken by immigrants in the tea gardens or in the *ex*-coolies settlements, which are a prominent feature of the upper Brahmaputra Valley.

The proportion per mille of the *Tibeto-Chinese* family is 184: as the Tai group of the Siamese-Chinese sub-family is insignificant, the table shows only the distribution of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family, of which the most important branch is the Assam-Burmese. In this are included the Bodo group, represented by 68 persons per mille, the Naga group and the Kuki-Chin group; excellent maps showing the distribution of the two latter will be found in the Linguistic Survey, Volume III, Parts II and III, respectively, but it should be remembered that Mikir, which is shown in the map as belonging to the Naga group, is now placed outside it, as explained above. Briefly the Naga group extends over the Naga Hills and part of the hills of Manipur and North Cachar. The Kuki-Chin group includes the Meithei of the valley of Manipur, the dialects of Lushai Hills and the Kuki languages in the hills of Manipur and North Cachar. The distribution of the Bodo group is considered in more detail below.

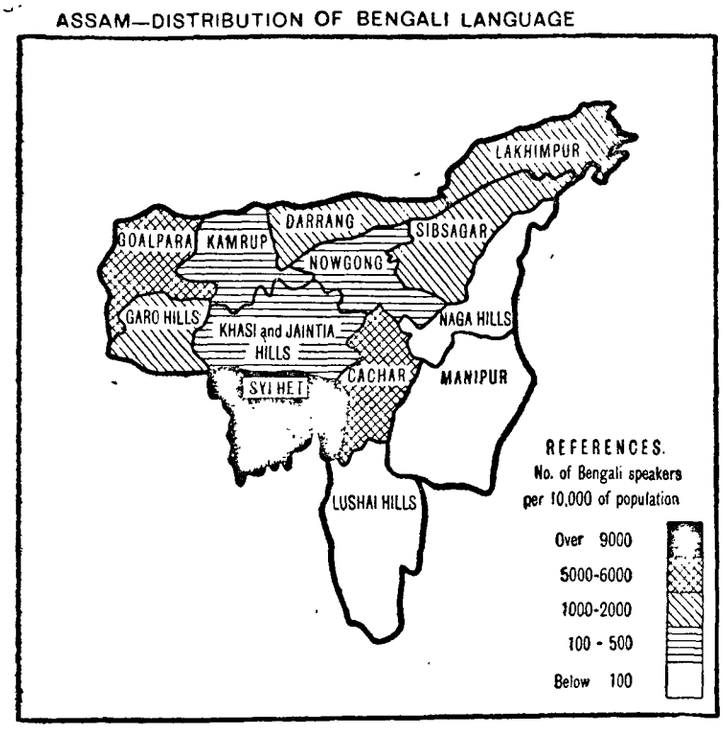
The languages of the *Dravidian* family—Oraon, Gond, Telugu and Kandh—are, like those of the Munda family, the mother tongues of immigrants to tea gardens: only 8 per mille of the population are included under this head.

The most important family of all is the *Indo-European*, which includes Bengali and Assamese: of the total population, 46 per cent. speak the former and 22 per cent. speak the latter. Assamese holds almost the same place as in 1901, but Bengali has fallen off by 2 per cent. on account of the more accurate census of the languages of tea coolies. Hindi and Oriya are spoken by 61 and 9 persons, respectively, per thousand and Nepali by 7. Bengali is the vernacular of the Surma Valley and the west of Goalpara in the Brahmaputra Valley, in the rest of which Assamese is the language of every district. Oriya is confined to tea coolies; Hindi is shared by this class with other immigrants who are unindentured: Nepali is spoken mainly by the large number of buffalo graziers who have spread all over the Brahmaputra Valley and have advanced into parts of the hills.

In Subsidiary Table II is given the number per 10,000 who speak the seven main languages in each district and natural division: of these we can dismiss Khasi and Manipuri or Meithei at once as being practically confined to single localities, remarking that Cachar contains quite a large proportion of Manipuri speakers and that there is a small number in Sylhet.

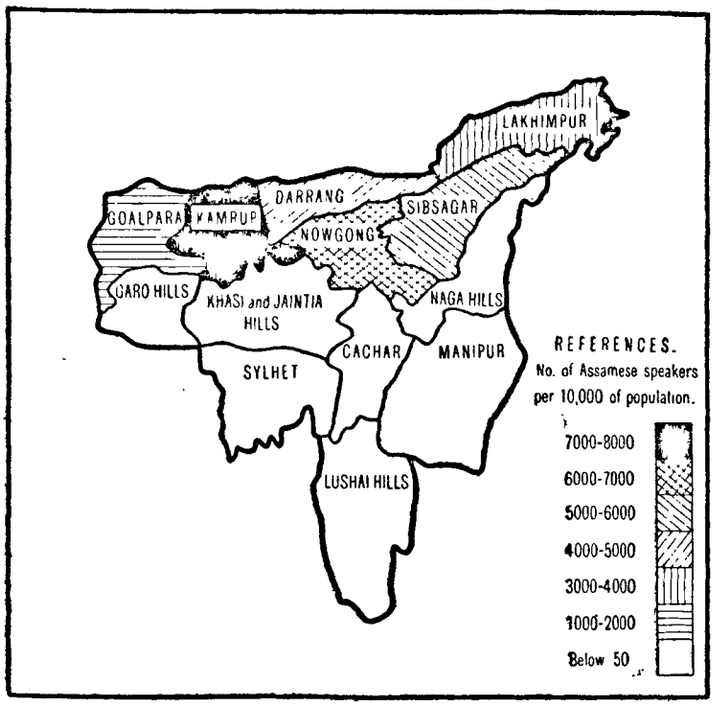
The large preponderance of Bengali in Sylhet is noticeable ; in Cachar and Goalpara also it claims more than half the inhabitants and over one-tenth in Garo Hills, Darrang, Sibsagar, and Lakhimpur : in the three latter it owes its proportion to the number of tea coolies who are returned as speaking Bengali, and in Garo Hills the plains mauzas contain large numbers of settlers from Mymensingh. In the Brahmaputra Valley the proportion of Bengali speakers has decreased from 2,289 at the last census to 2,030 now and the decline is apparent in every district except Kamrup where there are 126 Bengali speakers against 115 in 1901. The causes of this fall are the increase in the return of Assamese in Goalpara, which has been referred to above, and more accurate enumeration of the languages of coolies. For example, in Lakhimpur both Bengali and Assamese show decreases of 519 and 555 respectively per 10,000, while Hindi has increased by 452, the difference being spread over Munda and Dravidian languages: similar changes are observable in Sibsagar and Darrang. The increase in Kamrup is not improbably due to the presence of coolies on railway construction.

ASSAM—DISTRIBUTION OF BENGALI LANGUAGE



Assamese has suffered not only by the more accurate census of coolie languages but also by the increase in the number of immigrants. In the Brahmaputra Valley there are now 4,915 speakers of this language against 5,135 in 1901. Goalpara is the only district which shows an increase and it is no less than 1,175 per ten thousand. If we add the proportion of those speaking Garo and Khasi to the number shown as speaking "other" languages, so as to compare like with like, we find that "other" languages are now responsible for 1,587 in the Brahmaputra Valley against 1,231 in 1901. The largest proportion of Assamese speakers is found in Kamrup and Nowgong, which are practically not tea districts, and in Sibsagar, in spite of the large number of gardens, they account for well over half the population.

ASSAM—DISTRIBUTION OF ASSAMESE LANGUAGE



The principal members of the Bodo group are Kachari or Mech and Garo. The latter is practically confined to Garo Hills, though it overflows into the neighbouring districts, Goalpara, Kamrup and Khasi Hills : the proportion of Garo speakers has increased from 7,734 to 7,824 in their own district since 1901. Mech or plains Kachari is confined mainly to the western end of the Brahmaputra Valley, Goalpara, Kamrup and Darrang being the only three districts in which it is spoken by over

one-tenth of the population. Its proportion per 10,000 of the population has dropped in the Brahmaputra Valley from 828 to 808 within the last ten years, but this is in part due to the proportionate increase of foreign languages. The submontane country extending from Jalpaiguri to the Bhoreli in Darrang is the home of the plains Bodos: they are mostly bilingual and, as explained above, it is not always possible to ensure that they will return the language spoken in their homes: the decrease of population in the north of Mangaldai subdivision would also reduce their numbers.

It was laid down by Sir G. Grierson in Volume III, Part II, of the Linguistic Survey (page 96), that the so-called Koch language, which is spoken in Garo Hills and Goalpara in Assam and in the Madhupur jungle on the borders of Dacca and Mymensingh in Bengal, is a mongrel of Garo and Bengali or Assamese: he agrees with the theory that these Koches are not real Koches at all, but probably Garos in an imperfect stage of conversion to Hinduism. Mr. Gait does not accept this view and holds that they are a remnant of the Koch tribe; he points out that the similarity of their language to Garo is no proof that they are Garos, because there is no doubt of their being closely connected with the latter. Those who are interested in the subject are referred to paragraph 539 of the Bengal Census Report of 1901, and to pages 20 following of Major Playfair's Monograph on the Garos. It will be noticed that Koch is shown as a separate language in our Tables.

Dialects.

103. In discussing the question of dialects it is safer to confine ourselves to the plains, because it is often hard to say what is a dialect and what is a language and in the hills there is little or no criterion for decision. Regarding the old controversy as to whether or not Assamese was a dialect of Bengali, Sir G. Grierson's opinion is that Assamese should be considered a separate language, because its possession of a separate written literature entitles it to claim an independent existence as the speech of a distinct nationality and to have a standard of its own other than what Calcutta litterateurs would wish to impose on it. We are without this criterion for hill languages, which are reduced to writing only where Roman characters are used for phonetic reproduction.

In the Surma Valley according to Sir G. Grierson there are two dialects: in the west and south of Sylhet we have ordinary Eastern Bengali as spoken in Mymensingh and Dacca: the second dialect, which is spoken in the north and north-east of Sylhet and in Cachar, is wrongly styled Sylhettia by Europeans: the people themselves call it Jaintiapuri, Purba Srihattiya or Ujania, and the curious will find it described on pages 221 following of Volume V, Part I, of the Linguistic Survey. A peculiar point in connection with it is that in the east of Sylhet low class Muhammadans use the Nagri alphabet to sign their names and to print Bengali *puthis*. In Goalpara, the only other district in Assam in which Bengali is generally spoken, the dialect is the Rajbansi or Rangpuri of northern Bengal and is predominant in the west of the district. Sir G. Grierson divides Assamese into two main groups, the standard, which has its centre in Sibsagar and is spoken in the upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley, and the Dhekeri or western, *i.e.*, the dialect spoken in Kamrup and eastern Goalpara: the incorrectness of the return of this dialect as Bengali at previous censuses has been referred to above.

There is no necessity to have recourse to a *lingua franca* within the two main languages; in the Surma Valley a man from Habiganj would find no difficulty in Hailakandi and in the Brahmaputra Valley a Barpetia would feel at home in Dibrugarh, but there is little doubt that an ordinary Assamese speaker would find it rather difficult to converse in the Surma Valley and so would a Sylhetti in Sibsagar. The existence of coolie *patois* in the tea districts has been noted above: these may be called dialects in formation, but they now vary so much that it takes a new manager some little time to become accustomed to what is known as the garden *bat*: practically speaking, each garden is a law unto itself and when the coolies eventually leave to settle down outside, their language may again be modified by the vocabulary of their neighbours.

It has been suggested that dialect is partly a question of sex. Enquiries made on this point tend to show that in Assam dialect is influenced by sex in that women are more conservative in their use of words than men, partly because they are less educated and partly because they do not go outside their houses so much. Dialects must eventually disappear to a great extent with the spread of education and it is reported that such a tendency is visible even now. But that local influence is still strong is proved by the fact that in the Surma Valley it is not uncommon to find such spellings as *chur* for *chor* in Bengali newspapers. School-books are supposed to be written in standard Assamese and Bengali: reports show that as yet the language is not always readily intelligible to young school-children in either valley,

Aryan *versus* non-Aryan languages.

104. There is no doubt that Aryan languages alone are now spoken by people who are Mongolians or Dravidians by race. The disappearance of the early tribal dialects is explained as being due partly to the fact that Aryan languages belong to a superior civilisation and partly to the influence of Hinduism. That tribal dialects still survive is accounted for by the absence of outside intercourse, which follows from the inaccessibility of the tract inhabited by the tribe, or by the reduction of the language to writing, usually with the aid of Missionaries, or by the resistance of the tribe to the glamour of Hinduism. We have many examples of these different influences in Assam. The hill tribes were and are still to a great extent isolated; hence they retain their own languages. The development of the Khasi language by the Welsh Mission is too well known to require more than a reference; amongst the Garos, Nagas and Lushais text-books in the local dialects are now taught in the schools. In the plains the existence of a large proportion of Animists amongst the Bodo clans and the various Munda and Dravidian tribes, which are attracted to the province by the tea industry, accounts for the fact that their mother tongues have not disappeared. It may be generally accepted that conversion to Hinduism eventually leads to the abandonment of the tribal language as well as of the other relics of unclean customs: an exception to this rule is where the apostles of Hinduism are few and the converts many, as, for example, in Manipur, where the Meithei language is written in a script based on Nagri, which was introduced by the priests for the purpose of disseminating Hindu religious literature.

Subsidiary Table III compares the strength of each tribe with the number speaking the tribal language, and shows that in almost every case the latter has not been returned as their mother tongue by a considerable number. In the Kuki-Chin group we have apparently the reverse, but this is explained by the facts that it is possible to show as Manipuris only those who returned their caste as Kshatriya, and that the speakers of the dialects grouped as Kuki-unclassed belong to many different tribes. We may leave out of consideration those tribes which are foreign to the province, because their cases will be more appropriately dealt with in their provincial reports, and also the hill tribes generally, because it is not easy to ensure great accuracy in the return of their dialects and we know that so far there is no great reason to apprehend the disappearance of such languages. This reduces our point of view to the Bodo groups, who are mostly confined to the plains. We have seen in Subsidiary Table I that plains Kachari is now returned by 43,000 more than in 1901; but for our present purpose we must add Dimasa, the speakers of which are Kacharis by tribe, and we thus get 278,000 speakers against 323,000 tribesmen, *i.e.*, 86 per cent. of the latter have returned their own language: in 1901 the percentage was 75 and in 1891, 85. One would be inclined to infer that here we have a real growth of a non-Aryan language, but I am afraid that we must allow for the fact that practically all Kacharis, except perhaps the children and some of the women, are bilingual, and it is not improbable that the increase is due to the greater accuracy in the return of languages at the present census. In the case of Lalung there is a decrease since 1901 in the number of speakers of over 34 per cent. along with an increase in the number of the tribe of over 10 per cent.: this language is apparently dying out. Chutia shows an increase from 2,364 to 3,107 since the last census, but is practically defunct, though it continues to retain a small spark of life. As in 1901, there are more speakers of Garo than there are Garos, in spite of the inclusion of Christian Garos in the figures of the latter; this is a hill language and shows great vitality, owing partly to the isolation of the people and partly, no doubt, to the efforts of the Baptist Mission. The speakers of Rabha are now over 39 per cent. of the strength of the tribe against 30 per cent. in 1901 and 0·7 per cent. in 1891: here again I do not think that we can attribute the increase to anything but greater accuracy. The inferences then to be drawn from our statistics are somewhat inconclusive: there is little doubt that we have now the advantage of a higher accuracy than at previous censuses, but there is too much uncertainty to draw dogmatic conclusions. I think, however, that we may safely claim from the statistics that on the whole the indigenous tribal languages of Assam are still in a vigorous condition: the fact that this is true in the hills is not unnatural, as explained above; but that plains Kachari is as yet able to withstand the influence of Assamese is a wonderful proof of the clannishness of its speakers; we must however allow for the fact that their habitat is not looked on with favour by their Hindu neighbours and that they are on this account not so subject to outside influences.

Literary activity.

105. For evidences of the literary activity of each language we have Subsidiary Tables IX and X to the last chapter. In the matter of periodicals, Khasi is an easy first in number and circulation, though they are all monthlies, and Assamese is a very bad second with 1 weekly and 3 monthlies, which have a total circulation of only 2,700 copies. The number of English periodicals is equal to that of Assamese, but their circulation is considerably less than half. The Bengali-reading public evidently depend more on Calcutta for their newspapers. The publication of 2 monthlies in Lushai is a wonderful example of the progress made by the people in the matter of education. Assamese easily heads the list in books, which have increased by over 45 per cent. in the last decade and represent over 55 per cent. of the total output of the province: this is no doubt due in part to the fact that Bengali books are easily procured from Calcutta; the same fact accounts also for the decline in Bengali books published in Assam. The literary capabilities of the Khasis is reflected in the number of Khasi publications. Other languages may be neglected, but it is interesting to note that there were 16 publications in Nagri, which not improbably represents the script adopted by Muhammadans of Sylhet.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Distribution of total population by language.

Language.	Total number of speakers. 000's omitted. 1911.	1901.	Number per mille of population of Province.	Where chiefly spoken.
1	2	3	4	5
AUSTROASIATIC FAMILY.	338	253	48	
MON-KHMER SUB-FAMILY.				
Khasi ...	201	178	29	Assam.
MUNDA SUB-FAMILY	137	75	19	
Santali ...	54	30	7	Bengal, Assam and Central Provinces.
Mundari ...	73	43	10	Ditto.
Bhumij ...	5	...	1	Ditto.
Kharia ...	5	2	1	Bengal and Central Provinces.
TIBETO CHINESE FAMILY.	1,299	1,021	184	
TIBETO-BURMAN SUB-FAMILY.				
North Assam Branch.				
Abor-Miri ...	57	41	8	Assam.
Assam-Burmese Branch.				
BODO GROUP ...	485	422	68	
Bodo, Mech or Plains Kachari.	261	218	37	Assam and Bengal.
Lalung ...	12	17	2	Assam.
Dimasa ...	16	20	2	Ditto.
Garo ...	154	133	22	Assam and Bengal.
Koch ...	4	4	...	Ditto.
Rabha ...	28	20	4	Assam.
Tipura or Mrung ...	10	10	1	Bengal and Assam.
NAGA GROUP.				
Naga-Bodo sub-group	25	7	3	
Empeo or Kachcha Naga.	8	7	1	Assam.
Kabui ...	17	...	2	Ditto.
Western Naga sub-group	81	41	12	
Angami ...	89	28	5	Assam.
Kezhama ...	5	1	1	Ditto.
Rengma ...	4	6	1	Ditto.
Sema ...	33	6	5	Ditto.
Central Naga sub-group	49	45	7	
Ao ...	29	28	4	Assam.
Lhota or Tsontsu ...	20	17	3	Ditto.
Naga-Kuki sub-group	52	...	7	
Sopvoma ...	10	...	1	Assam.
Tangkhul ...	27	...	4	Ditto.
Naga (unspecified)	15	...	2	Ditto.
KUKI-CHIN GROUP.				
Meithei sub-group.				
Manipuri, Meithei, Kathe or Ponnu.	295	256	42	Assam.
Old Kuki sub-group.				
Mhar ...	6	...	1	Assam.
Northern Chin sub-group	54	3	8	
Thado or Jangshen	27	3	4	Assam.
Sokte ...	4	...	1	Burma and Assam.
Ralte ...	7	...	1	Assam.
Paite ...	16	...	2	Ditto.
Central Chin sub-group	72	75	10	
Lushei or Dulien ...	69	72	10	Assam.
Lakher (Lai) ...	3	3	...	Ditto.
Mikir.				
Mikir ...	103	84	15	Assam.
Unclassed languages.				
Kuki (unspecified)	20	47	3	Assam and Bengal.
DRAVIDIAN FAMILY.	55	30	8	
DRAVIDA GROUP.				
Kurukh or Oraon...	20	11	3	Bengal.
Intermediate languages.				
Gond ...	10	2	1	Central Provinces, Berar and Hyderabad.
ANDHRA GROUP ...	25	17	4	
Telugu or Andhra...	21	5	3	Madras, Hyderabad and Mysore.
Kandh or Kui ...	4	12	1	Madras, Central Provinces and Bengal.
INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY.	5,308	4,712	752	
ARYAN SUB-FAMILY				
Indian Branch.				
SANSKRITIC SUB-BRANCH.				
EASTERN GROUP ...	5,249	4,685	743	
Oriya ...	61	24	9	Bengal, Madras and Central Provinces.
Hindi ...	431	362	61	Bengal and United Provinces.
Bengali ...	3,225	2,949	456	Bengal and Assam.
Assamese ...	1,532	1,350	217	Assam.
WESTERN GROUP.				
Rajasthani ...	12	7	2	Rajputana, Central India, Central Provinces, Punjab and Bombay.
NORTHERN GROUP.				
Eastern Pahari or Naipali.	47	20	7	Bengal, Assam and United Provinces.
OTHERS ...	60	110	8	
TOTAL ...	7,060	6,126	1,000	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Distribution by Language of the population of each district.

District and Natural Division.	Number per 10,000 of population speaking							
	Assamese.	Bengali.	Hindi.	Bodo, Mech or plains Kachari.	Garo.	Manipuri.	Khasi.	Other Languages.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASSAM	2,171	4,568	610	370	218	418	284	1,361
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	4,915	2,030	657	808	73	3	3	1,511
Goalpara	1,421	5,790	367	1,542	255	...	...	625
Kamrup	7,927	126	186	1,364	85	1	9	302
Darrang	4,437	1,541	571	1,4.8	12	...	1	1,980
Nowgong	6,444	419	573	301	17	...	2	2,244
Sibsagar	5,673	1,852	627	39	10	7	...	1,792
Lakhimpur	3,379	1,629	1,867	16	1	5	2	3,101
SURMA VALLEY	8	8,655	742	29	1	278	13	274
Cachar (including North Cachar) ...	29	5,785	2,034	166	...	1,053	11	922
Sylhet	4	9,232	482	1	2	122	13	144
HILLS	21	233	62	15	1,3?2	2,16?	1,999	4,176
Garo Hills	20	1,190	39	71	7,824	...	...	56
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	37	112	120	5	267	3	8,339	1,117
Naga Hills	46	6	36	5	1	21	3	9,882
Manipur	2	14	57	4	...	6,114	...	3,809
Lushai Hills	11	85	20	...	...	5	6	9,873

NOTE.—Separate figures for North Cachar are not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Comparison of Caste and Language Tables.

Tribe.	Strength of tribe (Table XIII).	Number speaking tribal language (Table X).	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
MON-KHMER SUB-FAMILY.	205,699	200,802	
Khasi ...	144,600	145,358	Including 17,530 Christian Khasis and 6,176 Indian Christians speaking Khasi.
Synteng ...	52,661	47,093	Including 10,516 Christian Syntengs.
Lyng-ngam ...	1,993	1,270	
War	6,445	7,081	
MUNDA SUB-FAMILY.	229,754	142,733	
Bhumij ...	78,664	5,342	
Kharia	12,357	4,718	
Korwa and Kurku	3,594	2,765	
Mundari ...	95,716	72,836	Including 4,448 Christian Mundas.
Santali	59,008	54,173	
Savara	3,914	503	
Turi	16,501	2,396	
TIBETO-BURMAN SUB-FAMILY.	1,476,462	1,303,975	
North Assam Branch.	58,648	794	
Abor-Miri ...	58,648	56,794	
Assam-Burmese Branch.	1,417,814	1,247,181	
BODO GROUP ...	691,411	484,469	
Kachari ...	230,295	168,072	Including 193 Christian Kacharis.
Mech	94,606	93, 8?	
Dimasa ...	...	16483	
Lalung ...	39,919	12,187	
Chutia	88,825	3,107	
Garo	149,704	153,766	Including 990 Christian Garos and 4,334 Indian Christians speaking Garo.
Rabha	79,099	27,995	
Tipura	9,740	9,676	
NAGA AND NAGA-KUKI GROUP.	212,552	202,577	Including 3,980 Christian Nagas.
Naga Bodo	33,785	26,495	See remarks against Unclassed languages—Kuki.
Western Naga	87,337	81,060	
Central Naga	46,875	48,897	
Eastern Naga	...	2,940	
Naga unclassed	...	7	
Moram ...	2,778	3,959	
Maring ...	2,706	2,674	
Sopvoma ...	12,680	10,700	Some Sopvomas were returned as speaking Purum.
Taugkhul ...	27,316	27,785	
KUKI-CHIN GROUP.	513,871	560,135	See remark against Unclassed languages—Kuki, and against Manipuri.
Manipuri (Kshatriya).	250,541	295,425	Excluding all Hindu castes of Manipuris except Kshattriyas.
Old Kuki sub-group	26,949	15,839	See remark against Unclassed languages—Kuki.
Anal	2,100	2,659	
Chiru	1,298	1,?98	
Koireng ...	639	1,025	Koireng was returned by 391 Khasis.
Kom	2,245	2,087	
Mhar Kuki ...	4,963	5,430	There are 334 Christian Mhars. See remark against Lushai.
Mhar Lushai ...	11,982		
Purum	292	1,036	See remark against Sopvoma.
Vaiphei ...	3,430	2,303	
Northern Chin sub-group.	68,038	53,852	See remark against Lushai.
Paite Kuki ...	7,202	15,567	There are 120 Christian Paites, 687 Christian Raltes and 118 Christian Pois. See remark against Lushai.
Paite Lushai ...	3,695		
Poi	10,884		
Ralte	15,944	7,493	
Sukte	4,911	4,221	
Thado	25,402	26,571	
Central Chin sub-group.	42,824	72,349	See remark against Lushai.
Lakher (Lai) ...	3,647	3,523	
Lushai	34,312	68,826	Including 1,259 Christian Lusnais. Lushai speakers include Mhars, Paites, Pois, Raltes.
Fanai	3,631		
Sailo	1,234		
Mikir ...	106,259	103,063	Including 1,182 Christian Mikirs.
Unclassed languages	19,260	19,607	
Kuki	19,260	19,607	Including 510 Christian Kukis. The excess in column 3 is due to the return of Kuki languages which could not be classed.
DRAVIDIAN FAMILY.	85,293	34,085	
Kurukh or Oraon ...	28,583	19,813	
Gond	51,572	10,306	
Kandh	5,138	3,966	

NOTE.—The entries in column 1 have been arranged in accordance with the language classification scheme.

CHAPTER X.

INFIRMITIES.

Accuracy of the statistics.

106. It is especially necessary in the case of statistics relating to infirmities to describe their scope and to estimate the degree of accuracy which they have attained. As at previous censuses, enquiries were restricted to insanity, deaf-mutism, blindness, and leprosy. The instructions were :—

"If any person be blind of both eyes, or deaf and dumb *from birth*, or insane, or suffering from corrosive leprosy, enter the name of the infirmity: do not enter those blind of one eye only or those who have become deaf and dumb *after birth* or who are suffering from white leprosy only."

There was no difference between these instructions and those of 1901, but in that year it was feared that at first the enumerators omitted cases of insanity, blindness and leprosy which were subsequent to birth: this difficulty is reported to have been absent at this census. In 1901 all entries of *kana* were excluded, because strictly speaking the term is applied to one-eyed people only, but it is loosely applied to cases of total blindness in the west of the Brahmaputra Valley and it was considered probable that some of the exclusions were cases of real blindness: this time there were very few returns of *kana* and they were usually distinguished by the intimation that there was a defect in one eye only. As before, persons returned as dumb were assumed to be deaf as well, but those returned as deaf only were excluded. The returns of insanity almost certainly include weak-minded persons, who were not actually insane. Efforts were made to prevent the exaggeration of leprosy statistics by the inclusion of leucoderma, but it is impossible to guarantee its exclusion, or that of Naga sores and syphilis.

Besides the above unintentional errors there are cases of deliberate concealment. Leprosy, especially in a woman of respectable family, is almost certain to be kept secret. Among the better classes insanity and deaf-mutism are not willingly acknowledged. Among all classes the infirmities of children are likely to be omitted because parents will not accept them as facts as long as there is any hope of their being due to retarded development.

Lastly we must consider the manner in which the statistics have been compiled. As between 1901 and 1911 there was no difference of method, separate slips for infirmities being written up by a special staff under careful supervision. It is probable that the experience of the last census tended to make the work of compilation more accurate now.

On the whole the statistics of the present census may be assumed to show a slight increase of accuracy under all infirmities as enumerated and under the head of blindness as compiled. But it cannot be claimed that they are exact: such statistics in any country must be vitiated by the errors of a diagnosis made by amateurs, and it would be expecting too much of our enumerators to insist that their returns are reliable in as much as 90 per cent. of the cases.

The number of afflicted persons at the last four enumerations is shown in the margin: the total for 1911 includes 112 persons afflicted with more than one infirmity. The statistics of 1881 may be neglected, partly because infirmities were not enumerated in three hill tracts, but more especially because the whole enumeration was not accurate nor could the method of tabulation be relied upon.

Period.	Insane.	Deaf-mute.	Blind.	Lepers.	Total.
1911 ...	3,116	5,393	6,408	4,372	19,183
1901 ...	2,510	4,575	5,759	5,088	17,932
1891 ...	3,022	4,681	5,832	6,727	20,262
1881 ...	1,518	2,578	3,210	3,313	10,619

Between 1891 and 1901 there was a considerable decline in the total number of infirm persons in India as a whole: this was due partly to greater accuracy in statistics and partly to the severe loss caused by famine amongst weakly persons. Similarly in Assam to the general unhealthiness of the previous decade was attributed the fall in the figures as compared with 1891. The acceptance of this theory implies that with the return of normal conditions we should expect an increase in 1911, and the statistics readily answer to this test except in the case of leprosy, where there has been a progressive decline within the last twenty years. That the main features of the present statistics for Assam may be accepted is indicated by the fact that before the recent changes in provincial boundaries the general tendency of the variations in Eastern Bengal and Assam and Bengal was similar to that now given for Assam alone. It would appear that there must be periodic variations in the number

of persons afflicted, apart from any question of the accuracy of enumeration: no doubt the continued improvement in the material condition of the people and better sanitation help to produce a decrease in the proportion of infirm persons in spite of large increases in population, but the conditions prevalent in the intercensal period must also have an important effect on the number of survivors at the end of it and cannot be neglected.

Before entering into a consideration of each infirmity, it should be pointed out that of the Subsidiary Tables attached to this chapter, Tables I and II compare the statistics of either sex at the last four censuses, Table I giving the number afflicted per 100,000 of the population by districts, and Table II the age distribution of 10,000 afflicted of each sex by quinquennial periods: Table III shows the proportion afflicted by sex in 1911 per 100,000 persons at quinquennial age periods and the number of females afflicted per 1,000 males, and Table IV gives similar statistics for selected castes instead of age periods.

INSANITY.

Variations.

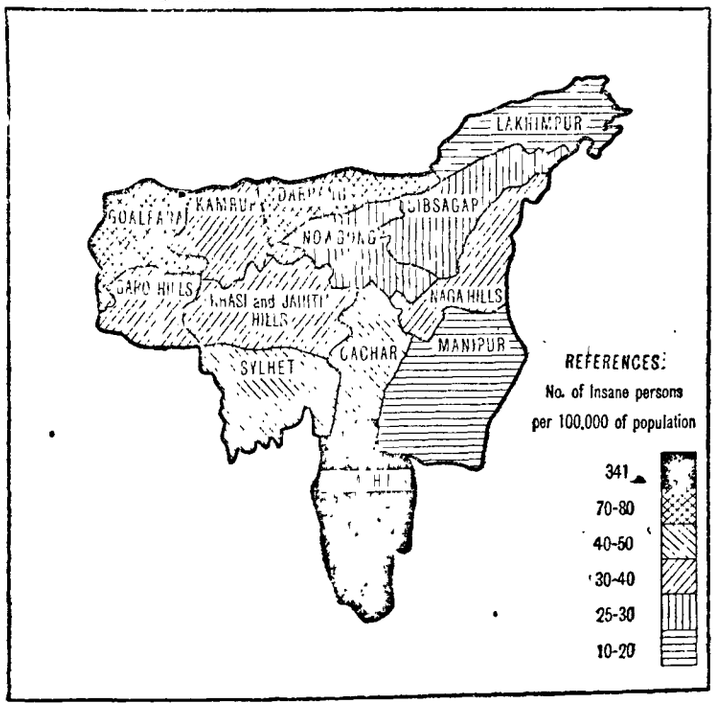
107. The number of the insane has increased since the last census, but their proportion to the total population in either sex is less than it was twenty years ago: there are now 51 males and 37 females insane per 100,000 of the people against 62 and 48 in 1891, though at the last census the numbers had dropped as low as 47 and 35 respectively. The trend of this variation holds good for the plains as a whole; in the Hills the proportion of insane in 1901 was less than in 1891 and is still less now, but I should not care to vouch for the figures because it is more difficult to guarantee accuracy in this natural division than in the two others. In the plains the only districts which do not follow the general tendency are Goalpara and Sibsagar, where there is a continual decrease since 1891. Every part of the Hills shows a steady decline except Lushai Hills, where there is a slight increase since 1901, and North Cachar, where the proportion of female insane has risen within the last ten years.

The age statistics should throw some light on the question as to how far the figures of the present census may be accepted; a decrease in the number of insane returned at the age period 0—10 would point to the return of a smaller number of the congenitally weak-minded. Subsidiary Table II shows that the proportions of children under 10 returned as insane are 457 males and 518 females against 514 males and 825 females at the last census: we may infer from this decline that our present figures exclude cretinism to a greater extent than those of 1901 and consequently more closely represent the number of lunatics properly so called: the diagram given in paragraph 109 confirms this inference.

Distribution by locality and caste.

108. The proportion of insane is higher in the Hills than elsewhere owing to the extraordinary number so returned in Lushai Hills, which again stands out as the worst district in the province. It is not easy to determine the cause of this pre-eminence, which also appeared at the last census: it appears from the last India Census Report that insanity was then specially prevalent in the Chin Hills of Burma and the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bengal, both of which border on Lushai Hills and contain kindred tribes. The statistics of Darrang are vitiated by the inclusion of the inmates of the lunatic asylum at Tezpur: excluding inmates of this institution born outside the district, the proportions are 25 for males and 11 for females, which is low. The next district is Goalpara, which holds the same position as at previous censuses: it may now be accepted as a fact that the reason of this is that the Koch tribe, which has furnished the greater part of the inhabitants of the district, is more than ordinarily subject

ASSAM—INSANITY.



to insanity : paragraph 457 of the Bengal Census Report of 1901 has proved this theory. There is nothing very special in the statistics of the remaining districts, but we may note that the comparatively low proportion of insane in the tea districts of the Brahmaputra Valley must be attributed in part to the large number of imported coolies, because weaklings are not encouraged, when the cost of recruitment is so high.

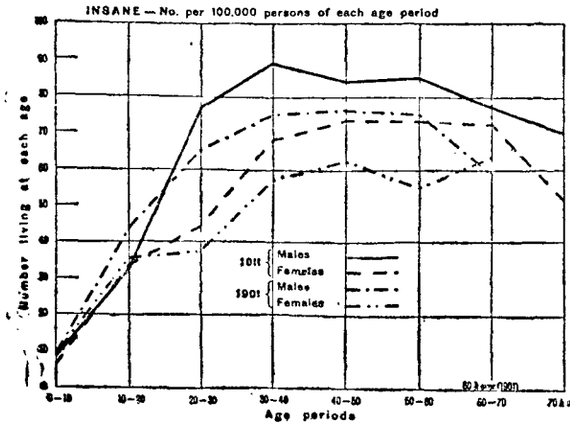
The causes of insanity are so many, and so little can be discovered of the previous history of cases admitted to the one lunatic asylum of the province, that it is hardly worth raising the question. It would appear from the reports of the Medical Department that in the majority of the cases in which patients' antecedents are reported the predisposing cause is over-indulgence in ganja ; but, as was pointed out in 1901, though this may be true in individual cases, it is impossible to predicate it for large numbers and the statistics of excise revenue do not lend themselves to a confirmation of the theory that the distribution of insanity is affected by the incidence of expenditure on ganja.

The statistics of caste given in Subsidiary Table IV show very great variations. The figures for Lushais and Raibansis reflect the extent of insanity in Lushai Hills and Goalpara. Why the Kacharis should be so sane and their kinsmen the Meches in Goalpara so mad, I am afraid that I cannot explain. The Baidya caste is pre-eminent in having apparently no insane ; if true, it may be due to their careful up-bringing and the absence of worry or want amongst them : of course the figures may not represent facts, and I am rather inclined to this belief by the figures for Kayasthas.

Distribution by sex and age.

109. In the two valleys the male insane exceed the female everywhere except in Cachar Plains. It is natural that there should be an excess of males, especially in India, where the women generally lead retired lives and hence avoid the hardships and anxieties as well as the excesses of the other sex. On the other hand in the Hills the women are more exposed to the wear and tear of life and the figures of either sex should be more on an equality. But I am at a loss to explain why the female insane should now be more numerous in every hill district except the Naga Hills, where their proportion is the same as that of the males : it cannot be due entirely to the actual excess of the women in the Hills, nor can it be attributed, as in 1901, to matriarchy of the Khasis and Garos, for it extends to other districts where there is no matriarchy. I should be inclined to attribute the result in Cachar Plains and in the Hills, at least to certain extent, to want of accuracy in enumeration, as it is very difficult to ensure anything approaching exact diagnosis among primitive people, but this difficulty existed on former occasions as well. Perhaps the figures of the next census may throw some light on the mystery.

The proportion of insane females in the province according to Subsidiary Table III is less than that of the males at every age : there is a steady rise in females up to the age period 10—20, when they are not very much short of the number of males, but their proportion declines again up to 30, rises between 30—35, drops again between 35 and 40, and then slowly rises without, however, ever approaching the high figure reached between 10 and 20. Taking all ages together there are only 693 insane females to 1,000 males. Amongst the latter the number afflicted increases rapidly up to 30—35, when it reaches its maximum, and then declines slightly to the end, except for a small rise at the age period 50—55. Women are apparently increasingly liable to insanity up to 45—50, after which the proportion falls a little. Subsidiary Table II gives the age distribution of 10,000 insane, and shows that at the last two censuses the highest number of males was in the age period 30—35, which agrees with the figures of Subsidiary Table III : for women it would appear that the number of insane aged 30—35 is greater than at any other period, but Table III shows that this is really not the most dangerous period.



DEAF MUTISM.

Variations.

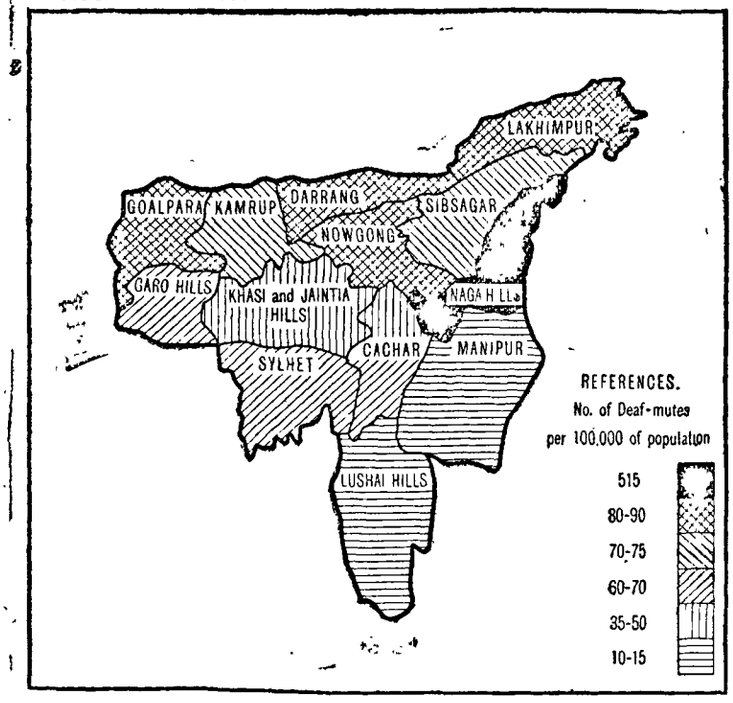
110. There has been a steady increase in the number of deaf-mutes within the last thirty years, though their proportion to the total population has fallen in comparison with 1891. Within the last

ten years the ratio of males afflicted has remained unchanged, but there is a rise in the proportion of females, and it is not improbable that the variation, apart from the growth of population, is a sign of greater accuracy: the extraordinary decrease in Lushai Hills is attributed by the Superintendent to the inclusion of persons deaf only and not dumb in 1901. True deaf-mutism is a congenital defect and the afflicted are short-lived: a reference to the diagram below illustrating the age distribution will show that, allowing for the usual incomplete returns of children, our present figures follow the natural course and that, in comparison with those of 1901, they are more correct in the later years of life: the very large increase in the number of males afflicted over 50 in 1901 is almost certainly due to the inclusion of old men grown hard of hearing only, while the female statistics point to the same faulty diagnosis, though not to the same extent. Subsidiary Table III, which gives the ages in quinquennial periods, also shows that the greatest proportion of deaf-mutes is found between 10 and 15 for both sexes. It would appear then that the increase shown by the figures for both sexes taken together is partly due to greater care at the time of enumeration and is partly real: the latter part may be attributed to the growth of population and the absence of hardships in the last intercensal period.

Distribution by locality and caste.

111. Deaf-mutes are again found in greatest numbers in the Hills, but mainly on account of the extraordinarily high figures for Naga Hills where the proportion for both sexes taken together is more than 6½ times the provincial ratio. The explanation given by the Deputy Commissioner in 1901 still apparently holds good and we must attribute the prevalence of the infirmity to the results of close intermarriages within the villages. In the next worst districts, Goalpara and Lakhimpur, the proportion afflicted is only one-sixth of that in Naga Hills. The Surma Valley seems to be generally more free from the infirmity than the Brahmaputra Valley, and if we exclude the Nagas, the hill districts appear to be very little affected, but perhaps their statistics are less accurate than those of the plains.

ASSAM—DEAF-MUTISM.

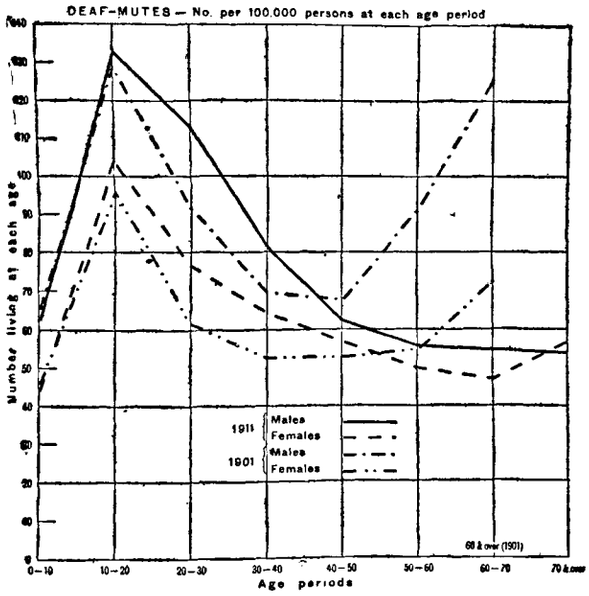


The caste statistics place the Nagas at the top: among them it would appear that the worst afflicted clan is the Rengma, which is followed in order by the Lhotas, Semas, Angamis and Aos, among the last of whom 347 men and 250 women per 100,000 are deaf and dumb. The indigenous castes of the Brahmaputra Valley have higher proportions than normal, *e.g.*, the Ahoms, Chutias, Kalitas, Koches, Meches, Nadiyals and Rajbansis. The Baidyas are here remarkable for the absence of female afflicted, and again in view of the statistics for Kayasthas, I am afraid that the returns are incorrect: most probably we have in the case of this caste an example of deliberate suppression of nasty facts which holds good for all the infirmities, for there is not a single female Baidya afflicted with any of the four physical calamities prescribed for enumeration.

Distribution by sex and age.

112. Here again males usually out number the females in every country and our figures are no exception to the rule, which holds good for each natural division. It is not improbable that, as pointed out just now, female cases are concealed to a certain extent among the higher

castes, but this would not vitiate our statistics to any great extent. I have already pointed to the high proportion at the early ages: parents will not usually acknowledge the permanency of defects in their children until there is no room for doubt, and the figures between infancy and ten years are undoubtedly incorrect. Subsidiary Tables II and III agree in pointing to the age period 10—15 as containing the greatest number and the greatest proportion of the deaf and dumb. This holds good for this census and the last: that of 1891 apparently makes the years from 5 to 10 the worst, but this is possibly due to inaccuracy. That the statistics of 1901 were vitiated by the inclusion of old people afflicted with senile deafness is clear from the figures for people 60 and over: the number of deaf-mutes per 10,000 at that age being 553 males and 482 females against 254 males and 321 females now.



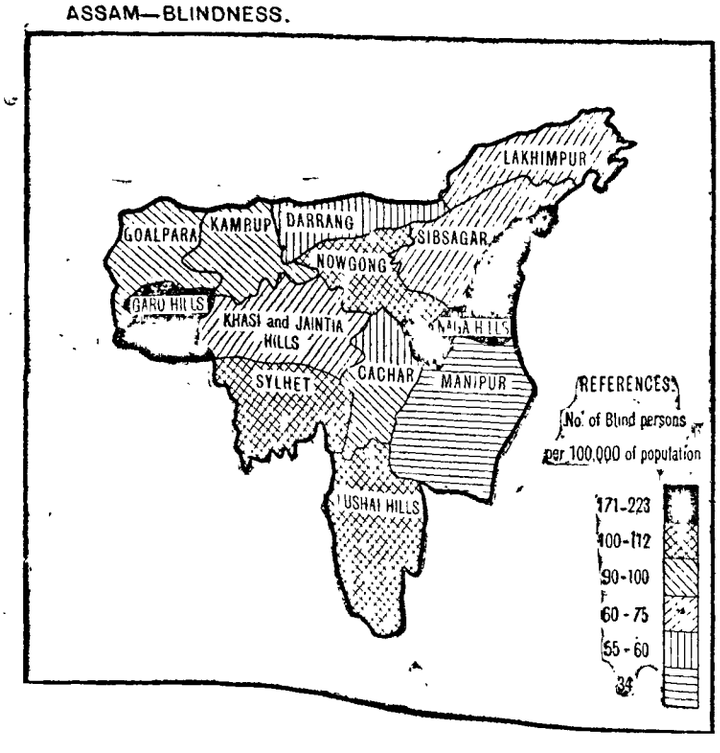
BLINDNESS.

Variations.

113. The total number of the blind has grown by apparently 100 per cent. since 1881, but, as that census is more or less negligible from our present point of view, it should be excluded; we find an increase of over 10 per cent. in comparison with 1891 and over 11 per cent. since 1901. In spite of these increases the proportion of the blind shows a steady decline in both sexes since 1891. As is now well known, blindness is an unimportant infirmity in Assam. The absence of glare, dust, poverty and overcrowding in ill-ventilated houses all contribute to this happy result. The proportional decrease is not shared by the Surma Valley, where there is a slight rise in the number of males, while the female proportion remains unchanged since 1901.

Distribution by locality and caste.

114. The Brahmaputra Valley shows the smallest number of people who cannot see: this is no doubt mainly due to the vision soundness of the immigrant population, the figures for the three large tea districts, Darrang, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, being particularly low, while those for Goalpara, Kamrup, and Nowgong are above or equal to the provincial average for both sexes. In the Surma Valley the males of Sylhet are more afflicted than those of Cachar, probably on account of the greater prevalence of glare and dust; the statistics for females seem to point to a suppression of facts in Sylhet. In the Hills blindness is more common than elsewhere and this was also the case in 1901. The high proportion amongst the Garos, Nagas, and Lushais would seem to be due to the absence of general cleanliness and ventilation.

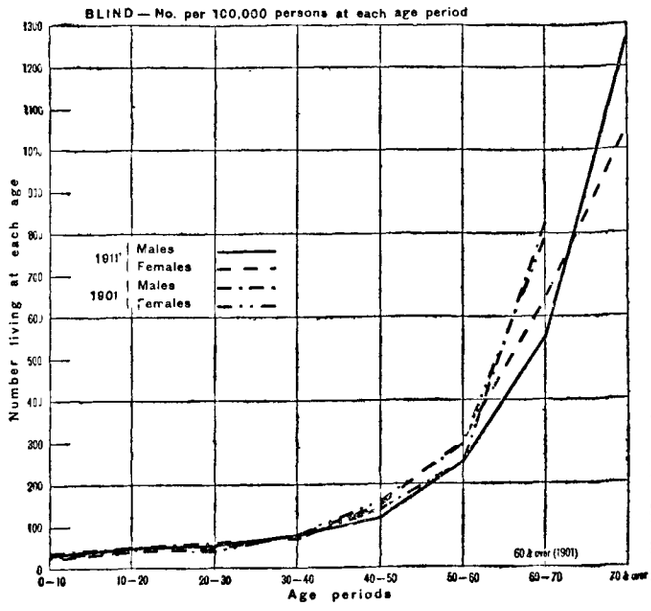


The caste statistics agree generally with those of locality. Amongst the Baidyas there is a large number of blind males, which may be

attributed to their bookly occupations, but there are no females. That the proportion amongst Mikirs is high may be due to the absence of ventilation and sanitation, for they live in a manner similar to the hill tribes.

Distribution by sex and age.

115. The male blind exceed the female as they have done at every previous census: part of the excess is no doubt due to concealment. The excess of males holds good for each natural division, but not for every district: in Darrang, Nowgong, Lakhimpur, Cachar plains, Garo Hills, North Cachar, and Naga Hills the reverse is the case. Subsidiary Table III shows that the ratio of blindness amongst males is higher than that amongst females up to the age 40 and lower between 40 and 60, and again slightly higher after 60. The figures in Subsidiary Table II give an excess of males up to 25, almost an equality between the sexes from 25 to 30, an excess of males from 30 to 40, an excess of females between 40 and 45, an excess of males between 45 and 50, and an excess of females from 50 upwards. The general result is that women apparently keep their sight better than men up to about 40, but after that are more afflicted. This is probably to be attributed to greater dimness of vision rather than to actual loss of sight amongst elderly women, who spend a good deal of their time within the house and are exposed to the smoke of the cooking fire. Blindness is not an infirmity which usually attacks young people: it belongs to old age. The diagram brings this fact out very clearly both for this census and the last.



LEPROSY.

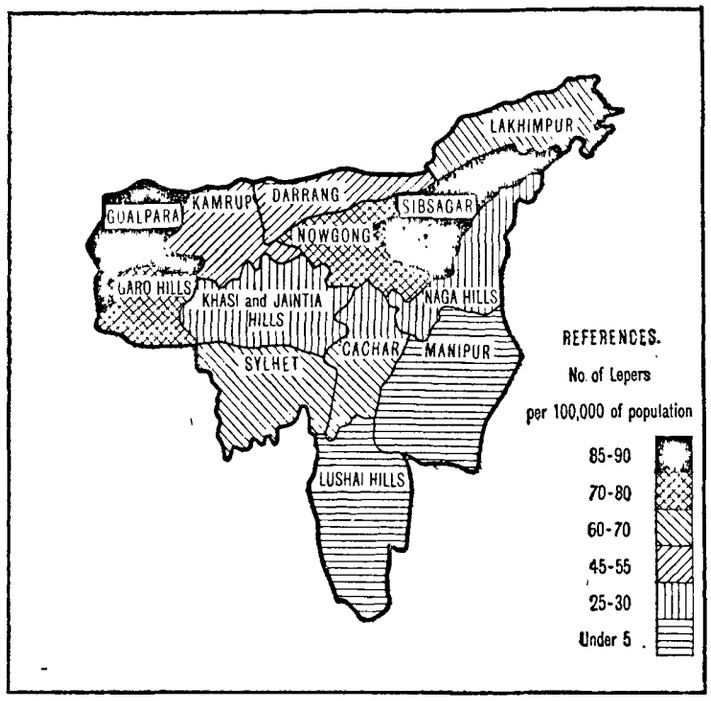
Variations.

116. Leprosy is an exception to the other infirmities in showing since 1891 a continual decline, which is so marked that the proportion of males afflicted has been reduced by over a half and that of females by nearly the same amount. This reduction practically extends over each natural division, but is especially marked in the Hills, where it amounts to nearly two-thirds of the number of males and over two-thirds of the number of females of twenty years ago. In the latter division the decline is in part due to a more accurate diagnosis resultant on the exclusion of leucoderma and Naga sores. It is now an accepted fact that leprosy is not hereditary and only contagious to a small extent: it follows that, with improved sanitary conditions, the disease should die out, and this apparently is what is happening here and elsewhere. The proportion of lepers to the total population is however still very high in Assam: how far this is due to faults in diagnosis, it is hard to say, but there is little doubt that it is in excess of the facts, if my inferences from the caste figures are accepted. There is one small leper asylum at Sylhet, the number of inmates of which was 10 in 1901, 15 in 1910, and 39 in 1911. I do not think that any conclusions can be drawn from these small figures.

117. The Brahmaputra Valley stands first under this infirmity and the Hills last The apparently large number of lepers in Goalpara is a repetition of the statistics of the last census; it is not improbable that now, as then, the result is due to the inclusion of persons affected with syphilitic sores, in spite of the large decline in the proportional figures. Sibsagar is not very far behind and is followed by Garo Hills and Nowgong. The hill districts generally maintain the immunity which they showed at the last census, but it is possible that there have been excessive exclusions. The fact is that local peculiarities of diagnosis are likely to repeat themselves: it would really require a doctor to eliminate all improper cases, and the enumerators are likely to interpret the same instructions at two successive censuses in the same manner, and consequently the pre-eminence of any particular district, even if it is not based on facts, may be apparently maintained.

Distribution by locality and caste.

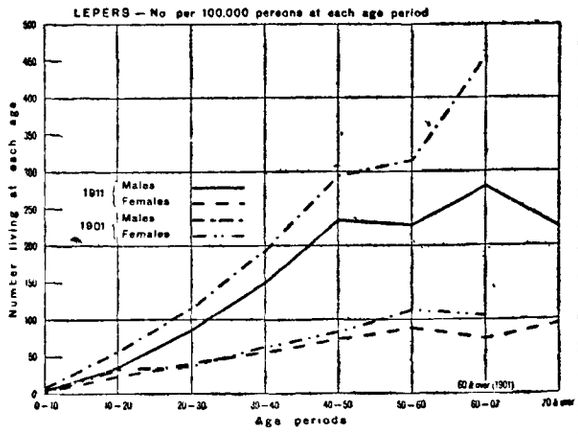
ASSAM—LEPROSY.



The caste figures show that the Meches of Goalpara contain the greatest number of lepers, and the Mikirs, Miris and Rajbansis are the next worst: I have grave doubts of the powers of diagnosis amongst any of these tribes or castes, and I think that the high figures of Goalpara, which must be due to the returns of Meches and Rajbansis, cannot be taken as representing facts. The Ahoms come next to the above, while the Patnis and Kacharis are the only remaining communities with over one leper per mille of the males; here also the diagnosis must be extremely doubtful, as all these people are distinctly backward. The general result of the caste statistics is to point to the conclusion that the high proportional figures for Assam are due in great measure to the confusion of leprosy with other corrosive or skin diseases. At the same time it must be acknowledged that the absence of this disease amongst the Lushais and the very small proportions of the afflicted amongst other hill tribes may be due to too comprehensive exclusions.

118. Here again the males seem to be more prone to the disease than females, but we must perhaps allow for a certain amount of concealment amongst the latter. On the other hand it is probable that the infirmity does not exist to any great extent among the higher classes, who alone seclude their women, and that the figures on the whole are not far from the facts. The excess of males appears in every district in the province at the last two censuses and in all the castes shown in Subsidiary Table IV. The age statistics in Subsidiary Table III show that the proportion of females to males is greatest between 10 and 15, when the possibility of the concealment of women is greatest, and it is reasonable to infer that the apparently greater liability of men to the disease is true.

Distribution by sex and age.



The highest proportion of male lepers has been found between 40 and 45 since 1891, and that of females between 30 and 35: the statistics of Subsidiary Table II agree with this for males, but show the greatest number of females afflicted after 55. Once a person is attacked with leprosy, his expectation of life is considerably diminished, the average period after the appearance of the disease being from 10 to 18 years. The diagram in the margin shows a curious similarity in the age statistics at this and the last census: there is a steady increase in the males up to 40, an actual decrease or a slow rate of increase between that and 50, and a rapid rise to 60: amongst females the increase is steady up to 50 and then declines. The inference, as was shown in the last Bengal Census Report, is that the period of danger of infection begins after 20 and ceases at 50 to 60 years of age.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Number afflicted per 100,000 *of the population at each of the last four censuses.*

District and Natural Division.	Insane.								Deaf-mute.							
	Male.				Female.				Male.				Female.			
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
ASSAM	51	47	62	37	37	35	48	25	87	87	95	65	66	62	75	39
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.	54	46	60	37	32	33	44	21	88	83	106	66	70	64	91	46
Goalpara ...	79	82	109	88	66	82	86	53	93	113	116	85	79	97	97	60
Kamrup ...	49	39	59	23	26	22	43	14	88	50	81	54	62	32	65	45
Darrang* ...	114	74	81	24	33	37	49	15	83	100	149	55	77	82	139	43
Nowgong ...	30	24	28	14	25	13	27	13	91	130	102	74	71	77	87	50
Sibsagar ...	36	39	43	33	22	29	24	9	83	56	93	77	57	45	73	37
Lakhimpur ...	19	14	26	25	19	8	28	17	90	94	125	45	82	76	127	32
SURMA VALLEY ...	48	45	63	41	34	30	52	32	78	83	77	70	50	50	53	35
Cachar plains ...	48	47	54	66	50	44	69	43	75	88	54	91	63	49	43	63
Sylhet* ...	48	45	65	37	31	28	49	30	78	82	81	67	47	51	55	31
HILLS	49	57	61	12	62	51	51	12	110	111	136	36	98	92	108	31
Garo Hills ...	37	40	62	...	40	41	66	...	66	83	119	...	66	60	126	...
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	30	34	60	30	33	38	44	27	58	63	115	87	41	16	88	70
North Cachar ...	21	48	236	...	69	45	208	...	49	62	118	...	23	67	83	...
Naga Hills ...	35	45	56	...	35	39	40	...	527	486	238	...	502	451	166	...
Manipur ...	13	21	...	...	15	12	...	...	12	18	...	...	8	12	...	...
Lushai Hills ...	297	292	...	...	380	249	...	...	19	156	...	...	12	180	...	...

District and Natural Division.	Blind.								Lepers.							
	Male.				Female.				Male.				Female.			
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
ASSAM	94	97	107	74	87	91	105	57	90	125	182	96	32	39	60	38
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.	81	85	76	73	78	76	74	49	98	129	175	94	41	42	65	41
Goalpara ...	100	126	134	95	94	140	147	84	137	210	287	169	38	63	90	59
Kamrup ...	106	125	72	88	82	80	61	55	78	137	97	72	31	28	36	36
Darrang* ...	54	55	46	77	60	45	46	50	63	77	123	40	32	29	65	25
Nowgong ...	94	71	67	52	109	75	63	33	104	77	134	51	43	27	51	27
Sibsagar ...	67	47	54	47	64	51	55	19	114	128	225	116	52	51	82	53
Lakhimpur ...	59	71	66	53	68	55	61	29	75	102	186	91	48	49	85	37
SURMA VALLEY ...	105	103	130	78	93	93	117	67	101	146	206	110	28	40	55	37
Cachar plains ...	89	85	91	81	100	88	86	82	94	114	157	113	39	47	70	50
Sylhet*	108	107	137	77	91	93	122	65	103	151	215	110	26	33	53	35
HILLS	102	116	152	52	100	131	196	46	31	48	91	31	18	24	60	27
Garo Hills ...	151	143	314	...	191	254	479	...	90	93	127	2	64	54	98	...
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	89	143	110	122	62	105	113	99	33	56	59	70	20	33	37	60
North Cachar ...	35	48	215	40	77	186	187	33	35	73	183	32	15	59	83	8
Naga Hills ...	209	172	103	...	236	252	145	...	31	35	121	...	19	18	89	..
Manipur ...	39	56	...	...	29	35	...	...	6	31	...	...	1	10	...	...
Lushai Hills ...	123	192	...	...	98	166	...	...	7	13	...	...	...	2	...	...

NOTE —* Excluding the population of (1) the lunatic asylum in Darrang and (2) the leper asylum in Sylhet born outside these districts the figures in columns 2 and 6 against Darrang come to 25 and 11 and the figures in columns 26 and 30 against Sylhet come to 102 and 26 respectively.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Distribution of the infirm by age per 10,000 *of each Sex.*

Age.	Insane.								Deaf-mute.							
	Male.				Female.				Male.				Female.			
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
TOTAL ...	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0—5 ...	82	115	138	141	71	204	164	217	603	413	805	253	689	449	931	362
5—10 ...	375	399	530	283	447	621	498	451	1,624	1,794	2,136	793	1,487	1,844	2,137	756
10—15 ...	484	825	691	577	650	795	700	567	1,672	1,575	1,629	848	1,629	1,640	1,652	820
15—20 ...	635	906	645	751	925	1,077	879	1,002	1,158	1,234	1,118	909	1,237	1,307	1,086	1,065
20—25 ...	1,016	1,068	835	2,067	995	1,232	918	1,769	1,082	893	950	1,361	1,179	1,182	986	1,384
25—30 ...	1,516	1,298	1,289		1,246	892	1,136		1,114	919	764		1,054	792	791	
30—35 ...	1,543	1,535	1,583	1,937	1,489	1,436	1,284	1,693	831	795	738	1,830	841	727	776	1,502
35—40 ...	1,196	1,021	1,048		980	795	895		615	502	526		507	454	451	
40—45 ...	1,005	1,055	1,192	1,523	964	1,038	1,012	1,603	457	524	376	1,641	447	510	490	1,395
45—50 ...	699	487	627		588	417	498		247	223	190		218	190	125	
50—55 ...	679	541	576	1,306	678	543	880	1,352	230	309	321	879	231	225	215	1,193
55—60 ...	223	277	201		236	213	213		83	141	119		120	98	50	
60 and over.	587	473	645	1,415	721	737	918	1,436	274	553	328	1,501	321	482	370	1,523

Age.	Blind.								Lepers.							
	Male.				Female.				Male.				Female.			
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
TOTAL ...	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0—5 ...	363	371	373	168	318	302	282	161	27	33	31	75	16	70	119	88
5—10 ...	547	607	528	396	348	465	443	411	73	135	112	187	128	252	328	420
10—15 ...	509	555	548	471	364	483	393	279	274	356	375	390	521	678	719	409
15—20 ...	412	368	426	493	364	439	386	535	399	493	472	718	711	861	741	862
20—25 ...	413	515	449	1,040	401	358	428	968	607	617	609	1,432	887	886	794	1,652
25—30 ...	486	541	419		488	494	435		961	957	878		1,220	878	1,051	
30—35 ...	668	614	495	1,338	592	523	518	1,026	1,330	1,249	1,277	2,399	1,554	1,287	1,215	2,022
35—40 ...	530	469	459		521	535	425		1,275	1,234	1,361		970	904	982	
40—45 ...	679	794	788	1,278	732	804	778	1,268	1,635	1,582	1,448	2,059	1,080	1,078	1,217	1,589
45—50 ...	591	578	425		572	571	460		894	874	805		686	626	570	
50—55 ...	925	925	815	1,647	1,050	1,088	1,103	1,635	1,100	924	1,065	1,457	869	974	807	1,481
55—60 ...	509	407	432		563	417	386		357	353	351		403	400	306	
60 and over	3,398	3,256	3,863	3,169	3,688	3,521	4,063	3,717	1,168	1,102	1,166	1,283	1,025	1,096	1,138	1,536

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Number afflicted per 100,000 *persons of each age period and number of females afflicted per* 1,000 *males.*

Age.	Number afflicted per 100,000.								Number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.			
	Insane.		Deaf-mute.		Blind.		Lepers.		Insane.	Deaf-mute.	Blind.	Lepers.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All ages ...	51	57	87	66	94	87	90	32	693	713	875	333
0—5 ...	3	2	35	25	53	17	2	1	604	826	706	556
5—10 ...	12	10	91	60	55	19	4	3	826	652	566	783
10—15 ...	23	26	116	115	45	24	23	18	943	691	676	653
15—20 ...	46	40	114	95	52	37	48	28	957	762	772	613
20—25 ...	69	49	126	8	72	48	71	31	679	777	851	487
25—30 ...	83	48	105	72	49	44	94	12	540	68	850	448
30—35 ...	92	68	81	65	70	63	130	53	664	721	849	339
35—40 ...	85	68	75	69	70	81	162	57	585	585	869	254
40—45 ...	83	69	65	59	104	123	241	66	665	729	904	220
45—50 ...	85	79	59	59	103	181	225	79	670	628	814	256
50—55 ...	90	71	59	44	229	246	257	81	679	644	909	290
55—60 ...	73	76	46	65	331	275	209	99	824	1,115	1,007	376
60 and over...	74	65	55	51	796	777	263	79	892	901	950	292

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Number afflicted per 100,000 *persons of each age period and number of females afflicted per* 1,000 *males in selected castes.*

Caste.	Number afflicted per 100,000.								Number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.			
	Insane.		Deaf-mute.		Blind.		Lepers.		Insane	Deaf-mute.	Blind.	Lepers.
	Male.	Female.	Male	Female	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Ahom	66	35	129	90	67	72	170	88	493	652	1,015	486
Baidya	...	...	13	...	98	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bairu	39	41	77	66	46	89	85	16	1,000	800	1,667	182
Brahman	97	35	78	67	61	46	46	14	200	704	619	250
Chutia	64	21	99	47	75	65	94	53	330	903	824	535
Dhoba	40	6	40	31	68	19	83	12	143	714	667	143
Garo	36	28	76	53	125	159	91	61	1,018	997	1,163	667
Gonla	49	28	67	44	88	89	67	49	709	500	714	563
Joti	49	47	89	47	93	123	86	33	929	506	1,275	365
Kachari	31	24	82	87	70	73	112	45	703	1,091	1,000	389
Kalita	62	37	109	97	168	111	69	32	549	806	944	425
Kayastha	90	45	76	33	81	59	50	16	440	800	611	273
Kewat	23	21	83	71	73	69	81	13	909	825	914	154
Khasi	19	15	68	39	113	72	94	19	2,000	611	705	857
Kshattiya (Manipuri)	25	31	18	16	41	18	29	10	1,258	870	451	361
Koch	44	39	83	64	69	63	71	38	667	745	882	517
Kuki (Total) ...	26	28	6	14	49	28	9	...	1,111	2,500	588	...
Kumhar	49	22	55	44	62	74	55	15	429	750	1,111	250
Lushai (Total) ...	295	606	27	...	95	59	...	...	1,750	...	714	...
Mech	98	55	95	99	81	61	290	51	565	1,044	763	175
Mikir	54	27	39	63	135	113	242	113	667	1,619	795	446
Miri	34	...	179	88	37	39	208	95	...	774	1,000	443
Nadiyal	54	30	109	102	46	63	37	30	833	971	1,533	769
Nata Total) ...	27	29	39	49	109	192	91	12	1,154	950	1,206	571
Namasudra ...	73	33	85	64	109	98	88	20	751	697	815	215
Napit	52	25	75	54	63	68	57	11	400	404	1,000	182
Patni	47	53	69	42	127	99	141	39	1,073	590	694	263
Rajbansi	101	70	106	64	119	104	172	53	662	564	870	288
Sudra	54	17	17	17	72	87	74	23	293	455	1,136	289
Sutradhar	108	13	69	39	120	144	72	13	111	600	1,100	167
Syuteng	42	81	81	67	107	81	51	9	1,000	438	857	200
Teli or Tili ...	59	27	19	13	83	60	78	...	417	600	647	...

CHAPTER XI.

CASTE.

Accuracy of the return.

119. The preparation of Table XIII, which shows castes, has always been a difficult task and particularly so in places like Assam where there are large numbers of foreigners who are censused by local enumerators ignorant of their ways and customs. The experience of each census, however, makes the succeeding one easier, and on this occasion the precaution of preparing a caste index beforehand was taken in time to allow its distribution at least to all Charge Superintendents: a special list of castes likely to be found in tea gardens was also made. The result was that there was less trouble than before with regard to the caste entries in the census schedule. It was noted in the last report that little or no difficulty was met with in connection with local castes, and this was also true at the present census. It was hardly possible to provide for all cases in the special index for tea coolies; in all doubtful cases references were made to the district officer, and in the comparatively few cases where no further enlightenment was obtainable from him, as, for instance, in the difficult case of Madrasis, the entries were classified in the central offices in accordance with the general caste index for India. The index prepared for Bengal at the last census was most useful for people from Chota Nagpur and Orissa. The difficulties due to ignorance then were more easily surmounted than in previous censuses.

There are the further difficulties of deliberate misstatements, when individuals intentionally misdescribe themselves as belonging to some higher caste or assume some new name. As far as Assam was concerned, there were not very many instances of this kind. The Shahas of the Surma Valley, in common with their fellows in Bengal, wished to be entered as Vaisyas, and the entry of Vaishya Shaha, which was permitted, gave an easy clue to their identity: but their further claim to be shown separately from Sunris could not be guaranteed, because the latter were just as anxious to abrogate the appellation and it was not easy to prevent their being returned as Shahas. The claim of the Chasi Kaibarttas of Bengal to be enumerated as Mahishyas was allowed, because it was a new name not likely to be confused with any other, but a great part of the Das community of Sylhet refused the new title: it is regrettable that the orders that their number should be shown separately in the remarks column of Table XIII were neglected in the central office where their slips were sorted. The Rajbansis of Goalpara claim to be Khattriyas and were allowed to show themselves as such with the addition of their real caste name. The caste hitherto known as Ganak objected to the title, and eventually Government decided that they should be called Grahabipras in the Brahmaputra Valley, but this order came too late to prevent many of them from entering, as before, their caste as Brahman. It is probable that more Nadiyals returned themselves as Kaibarttas than in 1901, as some of them obtained permission to do so from their gossain, but for this reason the name fell into disfavour with the Kewats. The Brittiyal Banias and the Namasudras are now shown without the additions of Hari and Chandal, but this makes no real change from the last census. The general tendency to level up, which was referred to in paragraph 197 of the last report, was again prevalent, and in the Surma Valley was intensified by the disputes which originated in 1901 from the attempt to draw up a list of castes in order of social precedence. This tendency is natural and will probably happen at every future census, but it was handicapped time by the issue of the caste index. In the Brahmaputra Valley the only real difficulties were those arising from foreign castes.

Classification of castes.

120. In view of the controversies which arose over the social precedence list of 1901 referred to above, it has been decided not to re-open the question, especially as it is not likely that any fresh information would be forthcoming. In 1891 the main basis of classification was that of traditional occupation, and though this is not a very good criterion in a province like Assam, where the caste system has not crystalised as it has in other provinces and where the main occupation is agriculture, the list such as it is will be found in Subsidiary Table I of this chapter. The arrangement of castes in Table XIII is alphabetical.

In Subsidiary Table I only castes containing more than 2 per mille of the population are shown separately, the smaller castes being grouped together under the head

'Others' in each occupational group. The figures in italics below the group totals show the proportion per mille of the total population represented by the group. Forest and hill tribes form the most numerous class, including 269 per mille, and are followed by cultivators, who number 190 per mille of the total population. In the last group, which is headed 'Others' and which contains people returned mainly by race, Sekhs form the great majority and represent the ordinary Muhammadan population, who are overwhelmingly agricultural: they and the castes grouped as cultivators form 441 per mille of the population, and, if we add the forest and hill tribes, we account for 709 persons out of every thousand. The next most numerous group, which contains only 78 per mille, is that of fishermen, boatmen, and palki-bearers; the last-named profession is followed by very few. Then we have weavers, etc., who number 35, and priests and devotees, who are 21 per mille of the population. The group totals rapidly diminish after this, that of domestic service accounting for 17, that of writers for 12, and those of traders and pedlars and labourers for 11 per mille each: no other group contains 10 persons in a thousand.

The caste system.

121. The theories of the origin of castes and the development of castes as they exist now were treated in the last census report. Since then the various European scholars have discussed the question at length, and it is apparent from their observations that the actual conditions of the present day, as opposed to the system described in the law books, are not always clearly grasped. In the new edition of the *Encyclopedia Brittanica* it is remarked that there is very little definite knowledge concerning the extent of inter-marriage and the effects of an irregular or forbidden marriage, the rules protecting occupations, the causes of the loss of caste and the means of regaining it. In view of the large element of truth in this statement, it has been decided to note the present-day facts with regard to certain points of the caste system concerned with the above problems, on which existing knowledge is insufficient. The points in question are (1) the restrictions, social and industrial, involved by caste, (2) the system of caste government, and (3) the distinction between function, caste, and sub-caste. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to treat these problems so far as this province is concerned.

(1) Caste restrictions.

122. The comparative laxity of caste rules in the whole of the plains of Assam has been described in the Census Reports of 1891 and 1901. It is here proposed to give some instances of such restrictions as there are. In the Surma Valley so wide are the limits of matrimony that Baidyas and Kayasthas freely inter-marry and only lose a certain amount of respect in their communities when they marry a son or daughter to a Shaha, though they would be excommunicated if they ate with the latter. In the Brahmaputra Valley Brahmans and Grahabipras are the only castes which are strictly endogamous: Kalitas, Keots and Koches may inter-marry, but lose position within their own castes: marriages between any of the lower castes implies excommunication for the higher party, who is reduced to the inferior caste. There is practically no restriction regarding occupation except that of fishing for sale, but a Brahman will not plough or carry a *bhar*, *i.e.*, a pole with a load at either end: in the Surma Valley one correspondent mentions a pious, but poor, Kayastha who used to starve at times rather than bring home his own bazar, but such men are exceedingly rare. In the Surma Valley there is no restriction about taking water from a public well, but in rural areas in the Brahmaputra Valley there is still a prejudice against it. Brahmans will take water only from Baidyas, Kayasthas, and the Nabasaks, who include Dases in parts of Sylhet and apparently exclude all the lower castes except Kalitas, Kewats and Bar Koches in the Brahmaputra Valley: generally no caste will take water from an inferior caste, but strictness of this rule seems to be relaxing. A vessel containing water touched by a person of inferior caste must be broken if it is earthen, but if of metal it need only be washed: water in medicine is taken from anyone, even from non-Hindus. Food cooked with ghee by castes from whom water is taken is acceptable, but a Brahman will not take food cooked with water from any but a Brahman, nor a Grahabipra or Acharji from any but one of his own caste or a Brahman: but even on this point there are differences, and in parts of Sylhet a Baidya will eat a dinner cooked by a Das. Mere proximity does not cause pollution in any part of the province, but being touched by a man from whom water cannot be taken does so, though it is only the most orthodox who will bathe after such an occurrence. Domestic fowls and pigs are strictly forbidden, but there is no prohibition against he-goats, drakes, or pigeons. Certain kinds of fish are avoided by the higher castes: these include *sal*, *singi*, *mirka*, *gajar*, *nadoni*, *garu* and *neria*, but there is no distinction between scaly and scaleless fish. Drinking fermented liquor is said to be *tabu* in the Brahmaputra Valley among all

decent Hindus, very probably on account of the close proximity of hard-drinking aboriginal or semi-Hinduised tribes, but in the Surma Valley there is now no restriction. Widow marriage is permissible amongst all castes in the Brahmaputra Valley except Brahmans and Grahabipras, but in the Surma Valley is restricted to the Patni, Namasudra, Mali, Dhuli, and other low castes. Widow marriage and child marriage seem to be antipathic customs in Assam, as we find in the Brahmaputra Valley that only Brahmans and Grahabipras must marry their daughters before puberty, while in the other valley child marriage is very common except amongst the foreign Manipuris. Taking the thread is peculiar to Brahmans and Grahabipras; in the Surma Valley it is unusual amongst Baidyas and Kayasthas. Every Hindu must have a *guru*, except the unclean feeders.

It will thus be seen that the Hindus of Assam are much less bound to rule than their co-religionists in Bengal and beyond. As was pointed out by Mr. Gait in 1891, the castes of the Brahmaputra Valley are race castes and there are no professional castes, and though the latter are found in the Surma Valley, the fact that they were down to fairly recent times living in a frontier tract prevented the thorough crystalisation of the caste system amongst them. There is no doubt that in Assam, as elsewhere, contact with European ideas and improvement in communications tends to relax caste restrictions and to lessen the influence of the Brahmans, but it is also true that the example of the higher castes now exercises a greater effect, for example in the matter of child marriage in Sylhet, and that more pilgrims visit Kamakhya temple at Gauhati since the railway connected the two valleys.

(II) Caste government.

123. By the system of caste government is meant the manner in which the caste rules and restrictions regarding commensality, marriage, occupation, and the like are enforced. It must be understood at the beginning that there are no standing committees amongst Hindu castes in Assam. As the usages of the two valleys are somewhat different, it is preferable to treat them separately from each other and from Manipur.

Brahmaputra Valley.

The Hindus of the Brahmaputra Valley are mainly Vaishnavas and their gosains or religious leaders hold very high positions in the community. A gosain generally lives in a sattra or monastery surrounded by his resident bhakats or disciples, all of whom, as well as the gosain himself, are celibates in the larger sattras. The non-resident disciples of a gosain are scattered over the valley, but to them he is the ultimate authority in religious and social matters. The social unit is the khel, which consists of the disciples of one gosain who worship in one namghar and can eat together. This is the ideal system, and, if possible, all members of the khel are of the same caste: there may be two or more khels of the same caste in a large village or the khel may consist of people of two or three villages. If, however, there are a number of castes of different social status in a village and none of them is large enough to form an independent khel, the village community or mel becomes governing body: this may also occur when, owing to the dearth of competent men, the social questions of a caste cannot be decided within the caste. We have then two bodies who enforce social laws and caste rules, (1) the khel and (2) the village mel. Generally Brahmans and the higher castes from which Brahmans can take water have caste khels or mixed khels: the rest have caste khels where they are in sufficient numbers or else are governed by the village mel. There is no rule regulating the number or qualification of the members of either of these bodies, but the wisest and most respectable men naturally take a leading part in all deliberations and are allowed to do so by common consent. To superintend all important khels the gosain appoints a local agent called medhi in the case of Brahman gosains and sajtola in the case of Sudras; one of his duties is to see that all social rules and laws are duly observed, and to report infringements thereof to the gosain when necessary: he is invariably present at meetings of the khel and takes an important part in its deliberations. The control of a caste over its members is complete even when there is no khel because the village mel can excommunicate an offender by obtaining the consent of his gosain. In all cases which involve a prayaschitta or purification ceremony, Brahmans must be consulted and they are generally invited to take a leading part in the deliberations.

It is the aggrieved party who raises the question of a breach of social or caste rules, by complaining to the medhi or the gaonbura or some other leading man in the village: the latter either then calls a meeting of the khel or mel or reserves the matter until the people meet in the namghar or attend some social gathering. The complainant makes his statement on oath and witnesses on both sides are examined. The decision is in most cases final, but the gosain exercises revisional jurisdiction: in

some cases the whole matter is reported to the gosain, whose decision is final. The penalties imposed are prayaschitta, as ordered by the gosain or the Brahmans, or a fine, which may be paid in cash or take the form of a feast to the villagers. If the penalty is not paid, the offender is excommunicated. The following statement shows the nature of the offences and the punishments in such cases :—

Offence.	Punishment.	Remarks.
1. Assault or abuse ...	Fine	The fine is heavier in proportion as the complainant is of a much higher caste than the accused, to enable the former to meet the cost of his own prayaschitta, which is also necessary.
2. Assaulting or abusing one's superior relatives, such as parents, elder brothers, uncle, etc.	(1) Fine. (2) Prayaschitta for both parties.	
3. Illicit intercourse, (*a*) if the parties are Brahmans or Grahabipras.	(*a*) Excommunication of both.	
(*b*) For other castes ...	(*b*) (1) Fine. ... (2) Prayaschitta of both parties. (3) Namkirtan. (4) Feast to relatives and kinsmen.	The punishment is heavier in proportion to the social difference between the castes, if the parties are of different castes.
4. Incest	Ditto ditto.	
5. Adultery	Ditto ditto.	
6. Drinking	Prayaschitta.	
7. Taking prohibited food or eating with lower castes.	Ditto ditto.	
8. Cow-killing	(1) Offender must beg from door to door with a tethering rope in his hands for 12 days without speaking to anyone. (2) Prayaschitta. (3) Fine. (4) Namkirtan.	
9. Unnatural offences ...	(1) Prayaschitta. (2) Fine.	

If there is no prayaschitta, the fine may be divided amongst the members of the khel or mel or deposited at the namghar in the village fund to be used subsequently for some public purpose : sometimes part of the fine is given as compensation to the aggrieved party. If the offence involves prayaschitta, the old rule was that it was divided into four parts, of which one each was given to the king, the gosain, the local priest and the khel : now-a-days the khel apparently takes the king's share, but in many cases which are referred to the gosain for decision most of the fine goes to him. Fines vary from Rs. 5 to Rs. 80 : a prayaschitta may cost anything from 4 annas to Rs. 200, and is calculated in terms of so many dhenus (cows) : a one-dhenu prayaschitta is supposed to be equivalent to one rupee for a Brahman and four annas for a Sudra, but this valuation varies now-a-days.

Specific instances of actual cases are given herewith as examples :—

(1) A Sudra who assaulted a Brahman was ordered in expiation to make a gift of four cows. He paid Re. 1 at the nominal price of four annas per cow, which was divided as follows :—8 annas to the khel, 4 to the priest, and 4 to the gosain. The Brahman changed his sacred thread and made a gift of 2 cows, the value of which was 8 annas, of which 2 went to the gosain, 2 to the priest, and 4 to the khel.

(2) A Nadial disciple of the Deking sattra was fined Rs. 80 by the gosain himself for having intercourse with a Muhammadan woman and was also ordered to give a feast to the people of the khel. The man has paid the fine, of which the gosain took Rs. 60 and Rs. 20 was paid to the khel. But he has not yet been able to give a feast, and so he has not been re-admitted to the caste.

(3) A Koch had illicit intercourse with his brother's wife. The cost of the prayaschitta and the feast to the villagers, together with the amounts he had to pay to the gosain and the khel, amounted to Rs. 100.

(4) A widow gave birth to an illegitimate child and declared a near relation to be its father. Both were at once excommunicated, but were re-admitted into the caste after a prayaschitta costing Rs. 20, besides giving a feast to the people of the khel.

(5) A Koch was ordered by his khel to pay a fine of Rs. 5 to the village common fund for committing adultery with a Kachari woman. His gosain consulted the Smritis and prescribed as his prayaschitta the penalty of 90 cows. He paid a sum of Rs. 5-10, being the nominal value of the cows at 4 annas per head, of which one-third was taken by the gosain, one-third by the priest, and the remaining one-third by the people of the khel: he also paid 8 annas to the Brahman who officiated at the expiation ceremony.

(6) A Hindu woman quarrelled with her husband and went to a Mussalman in whose house she ate: she was outcasted, no expiation being admissible, and finally became a Mussalman.

(7) A Brahman killed a cow accidently. The cost of the prayaschitta and the fine which he had to pay amounted to Rs. 50.

(8) A Brahman woman discovered fishing paid a penalty of 4 annas to the khel.

(9) A Katani arranged to marry a girl who was the step-daughter of his elder brother's wife and so within the prohibited degrees. He was excommunicated, but was re-admitted to caste on payment of a penalty of Rs. 7-8.

Amongst the Mahapurushias, who affect to disregard caste, the governing body is the Samuha at Barpeta Sattra. The members of this body are the descendants of the 280 families of bhakats of different castes who were the original donees of the endowment of the Sattra: it sits daily in the court-yard of the kirtanghar for worship and the settling of social disputes. On receiving a complaint, the Samuha summons the parties, and, if it appears to be a serious one, both sides are at once excommunicated. The statement on solemn oath taken before the math or sacred shrine of Madhab Deb bears more weight than ordinary evidence. Very often both parties are punished, but the aggressor more heavily. The cost of the prayaschitta goes to the temple fund, and in addition a sum has to be paid to the melkis or those members of the Samuha who sit in judgment. When both these sums are paid, the parties are given a sulag-patra or letter of purification bearing the seal of the Sattra, which removes the ban of excommunication, and they also receive a consecrated garland from an officer called the Ghai Dauri. If the fines are not paid and expiation not done, the recusant is cut off from all communication and loses his share of the temple offerings. In Goalpara though the Rajbansis, who are the main caste, are Damodhuria or Mahapurushia Vaishnavas, the system is apparently similar to that in force in the Surma Valley except among the Nadiyals, who follow the customs of their fellow caste men in the upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley.

Surma Valley.

In the Surma Valley generally the leading men of each caste form an informal panchayet, which assembles when a question for decision arises. In purely religious matters these bodies exercise the merely executive function of seeing that the decisions of the Brahmans are carried out: in social and moral questions they are judges also. If the offence is wholly or chiefly religious, the offender must perform the prayaschitta ordered by the Brahmans and make presents to them and feast his caste people: if it is merely a social one, the penalties imposed in order of severity are apology, fine, burning of the offender's effigy, and excommunication. If the condemned party is contumacious, his caste men will have no dealings with him, his relatives will shun him, his barber, washerman, and priest will refuse to serve him, and no one will give him fire or water: in short, he is outcasted. But if he has adherents, the community may split into two sections, whose quarrels usually bring them to the law courts: sometimes also the outcaste brings a criminal case of defamation against the panchayet. The general result is that caste control is not so strong as it is said to have been. Outside the towns the local zamindar or his agent is often either chosen as the sole judge or takes a very leading part in the decision. Brahmans exercise a much greater influence over the lower castes than amongst the higher, because high caste Brahmans are numerous and can easily be replaced as priests, but Barna Brahmans are few and hence are more in request. Particulars with regard to the system among some different castes is given herewith.

Brahmans act in accordance with the advice of the pandits, the matter being, if necessary, referred for decision to Nadia: in Cachar the descendants of Deshamukhya families form the leading members of a Brahman panchayet: expiation or ostracism are the usual penalties and fines are not inflicted. The Shahas of Sylhet are divided

into three communities or samajes, which are known as the Ujan Samaj, the Dakhinbhag Samaj, and the Sylhet Samaj: fines are not imposed, the usual penalties being some form of prayaschitta. Amongst the Jugis of Cachar the governing body is made up of descendants of people alleged to have received a *bata* of pan from the Rajas of Cachar and of such others as have become influential since: there is a separate body or samajpati for the Naths or priests of the caste. The decisions of the temporary or khanda Jugi panchayet of the village is subject to an appeal to the panchsamaj, constituted from the people of several adjacent villages, and there is a further appeal to the Barasamaj, which represents the entire community and which generally deals with important questions affecting the whole caste. Offences against Shastric law are punished by prayaschitta: in other cases the offender is ordered to hold Narainseba or worship of Narain, or Harirlut, *i.e.*, distribution of sweets in the name of God amongst the assembly, and to feast the latter. Fines are realised now-a-days only in the case of Shastric offences and are deposited in a fund for the construction of Gadi houses or in the celebration of Hari Sankirtan: it has recently been proposed that they should be deposited in the Adinath Bhandar, a fund started for the social, religious and educational advancement of the Cachar Jugis. The Patnis of Cachar are governed by Samajadhyakshas or headmen, who are elected for local areas and form a panchayet in cases which affect the whole community: ordinary breaches of caste discipline are dealt with by the local headmen. I have left to the last the Das community of Sylhet, which corresponds to the Mahishya or Chasi Kaibartta community of Bengal, because some of their institutions are apparently peculiar. Besides the ordinary local or village panchayet which assembles for some particular case, the Dases possess pargana panchayets, which have jurisdiction over one or more parganas and admit outside castes such as Kayasthas and their priests to have a voice in such matters as taking food from lower castes, killing a cow, or serious offences against marriage laws. It is only really serious offences that are referred to the pargana panchayet, which may, however, intervene *suo motu*. Every member of the caste living within the jurisdiction of the village or the pargana panchayet has a right to partake in its deliberations, but, as a matter of practice, wealth, intelligence, and education add weight to opinions and the body possesses a strong element of heredity. Information of a social offence is usually given by a rival or enemy of the alleged offender to one of the leading men: the latter usually make a preliminary private enquiry, and if they find any sign of truth in the complaint, call for evidence and give judgment. Ordinary offences are punished with fines, which are deposited with some prominent man and spent in feasting.

I regret that I have received very few specific instances of actual cases. A Patni of Sylhet was found guilty of abusing his priest and was condemned to undergo expiation: the panchayet was held in the kutcherry of the local zamindar, whose naib played a prominent part in it. A Kaibartta was excommunicated because he took back his wife who had been enticed by a Muhammadan: he was readmitted on performing prayaschitta, and paying a fine of Rs. 50, portion of which went to the Brahman and the rest furnished a feast. A Srotriya Brahman married the daughter of a Das's Brahman and was outcasted: he brought a case of defamation against those who decided against him, but they were acquitted and he remained an outcaste.

There is no relation between the caste panchayets and chaukidari panchayets, nor are there any real guilds of traders or artisans. In Sylhet the Telis have a sort of trade guild for regulating the price of oil, the Shahas have a kind of a rough commercial union, and the Patnis sometimes combine to raise the rate of boat-hire. But beyond these instances there is nothing in the nature of trade combinations in any part of the province.

Manipur.

In Manipur the Meithei community may be said loosely to form a caste in the sense that it is endogamous. It is divided into seven endogamous sections called salais; the latter are made up of yumnaks or clans, which are again subdivided into sageis or families. The Raja is the only one competent to pass final orders on questions affecting social matters. Breaches of the marriage law are enquired into by the piba or head of the sagei, who, if the matter is serious, reports it to the Piba Loisang or Herald's College, which advises the Raja: punishment consists of banishment to certain villages. A piba may assemble his sagei to discuss social offences and can punish the offenders, who, however, can claim that the matter be laid before the Raja. Blacksmiths, goldworkers, brassworkers, and workers in bell-metal and copper must each keep to their trade, which is allotted to certain clans: Colonel Shakespear attributes the custom to the fact that these trades were imported and the original craftsmen were foreigners,

or else Meitheis sent outside the State to acquire skill. If a worker in any of the above takes up another of the crafts, he is expelled from his own clan and made to join that of his adopted trade.

(III) Function, caste, and sub-caste.

124. Certain European writers on caste have asserted that it is the sub-caste which is the real entity, because it alone practices endogamy, and that the caste name is merely a general term including several true castes following the same profession. It has been pointed out, however, that, in spite of the restrictions on marriage, the subdivisions of the main caste usually regard themselves as forming a single community bound together by the tradition of a common origin as well as by the practice of a similar occupation. In order to examine the question thoroughly, the Census Commissioner decided that lists of the subdivisions of twenty or thirty main castes should be examined with reference to their origin, rules of endogamy and commensality, and Government. As has already been explained, there is so much laxity in the matter of caste amongst Hindus all over Assam that it is somewhat difficult to distinguish sub-castes in the proper sense of the word. A very exhaustive list of the subdivisions of caste in Assam will be found in Provincial Table X, Volume III, of the Assam Census Report for 1891 : it was compiled by the Hon'ble Mr. Gait, the present Census Commissioner for India, who wrote in paragraph 381 of the report with regard to the Surma Valley that " the division of the better castes into sub-castes is almost unknown "; in the following paragraph, after referring to the probability that the early Aryan immigration to the Brahmaputra Valley took place before the modern evolution of caste in Bengal, he noted that, though within recent times a tendency towards the formation of functional castes was apparent, there were very few instances of separate new castes, but there were several castes in which functional subdivisions had been formed. The origin and rules of endogamy amongst these were fully discussed in 1891, and it is here proposed to refer only to the main results which have been checked with reference to the facts of 1911. If we except the well-known division of Brahmans, which distinguishes good Brahmans from the Agradhanis and the Barna Brahmans, there is no sub-caste amongst Assam Brahmans. There is not alone no sub-caste amongst Baidyas and Kayasthas, but there is little real distinction between the two castes in Sylhet. So that as far as the higher castes are concerned, the enquiry yielded no results. In considering the principal Sudra castes which have subdivisions, it is bettter to keep the two valleys separate.

Brahmaputra Valley.

The Bar Kalitas, who have a functional sub-caste in the Sonari Kalitas, are said to be the real Kalitas; and the Saru or little Kalitas are supposed to have been Kewats originally. The latter division often marry daughters of the Bar Kalitas, who however refuse to reciprocate the compliment or to eat with the inferior branch, though they have no objection to taking *jalpan* at their houses. Inter-marriage between the Sonaris and the Bar Kalitas is permissible, but is looked down on by the latter. The functional sub-castes, Kumar, Bez or Napit, Mali and Nat Kalita are endogamous and are not recognised as belonging to the caste by the Bar Kalitas. The sub-sections of the Kewats, Halua, Jalua, Dhoba, Bez, Mali, Nat, Patia, and Teli are all functional and are forbidden inter-marriage and commensality. The peculiarity of the Koch caste in being the community into which converts to Hinduism from many tribes are admitted was described in 1891 by Mr. Gait. They are divided into two main sections, the Bar or Kamtali Koch, who are considered clean Hindus, and the Saru Koch, who are converts on their way to the higher status and who have to pass through the various stages of Sarania, Madahi, Mahalia, Heremia or Phairi: these sections are all endogamous and do not eat with one another. Amongst the Borias, who are said to be the offspring of a Brahman or Grahabipra widow and a man of any caste, the children are said in some places to form sub-castes in accordance with the caste of the father, but in most places they appear to form one caste without distinction. Doms or Nadiyals are divided according to function into Haluas and Jaluas, who can inter-marry if a feast is given by the bridegroom to induce his fellows' acceptance of the bride, but neither will marry with the Matak Doms, who are followers of the Matak or Moamaria gosain. The Brittiyal Banias are Haris who have taken to trade and have separated from the others, who are known as Jarua Haris, and there is now no commensality or inter-marriage between the two sections.

Surma Valley.

In the Surma Valley Mr. Gait's reference to the absence of sub-castes might practically be extended to all castes. The Baruis of Sylhet regard themselves as all belonging to the Rarhi sub-caste and the wealthier members try to pass as Kayasthas. The Namasudras are subdivided

into Halia, Jalia and Dhuliya sections, but apparently they eat together and intermarry: in Sunamganj it is said that the Doms are a sub-caste of Namasudras, but there is no inter-marriage. In Habiganj the Dom Patni and Ghat Patni are said to be identical, but in the north of the district the Patnis do not acknowledge any connection. The priests of the Jugis, who are called Mahants or Naths, are forming themselves into a separate sub-caste and aim at endogamy. The Das community of Sylhet have obtained a higher position locally than is allowed to the Mahishyas or Chasi Kaibarttas of Bengal and some of them resent the latter title: in any case, the Kaibarttas are now divided into two, if not three, sections, and the Jalias or fishermen are denied any connection with the others. The fission of the Shahas and the Sunris is an example of the efforts of a caste to keep aloof from a degrading occupation.

It may then be said generally that, so far as sub-castes exist now in Assam, their origin is mainly functional: they are practically considered as different castes for purposes of marriage, eating, and general discipline, which is regulated by each sub-caste in the manner described in the preceding paragraph for main castes.

Caste amongst Muhammadans.

125. Muhammadans resent the assertion that their community has traces of a caste system and point out that it is no part of their religion, which is quite true. The fact remains, however, that certain sections of the community are modelled on the Hindu system so far as eating and marrying are concerned. In Assam the principal example is the Mahimal fishing caste of Sylhet, which is held in low esteem and is cut off from marriage with the ordinary members of the community. The panchayet system of punishing breaches of social custom is quite common amongst Muhammadans in Sylhet, more especially in the Jaintia Parganas, where there are no zamindars or talukdars: the matbars or leading men of the village insist on the deposit of a sum of money by both parties before deciding a case, the loser's deposit being spent on a feast and the winner's refunded to him. I quote two examples of cases decided. In the outskirts of Sylhet town a child was born six months after a marriage, whereon the panchayet directed the husband to divorce his wife on penalty of excommunication: the husband refused and has been boycotted. In the second case a man was excommunicated for having committed incest with his own daughter.

Local distribution of castes.

126. It is not proposed to enter into very great detail on the subject of the local distribution of castes, and in the following lines I intend to confine my attention to the main castes, *i.e.*, those which contribute more than 2 per mille of the population and which are shown in Subsidiary Table II. The case of castes which are peculiar in being confined to single localities or for other causes I have deferred to the ethnographic glossary at the end of this chapter. The number after each caste is its total strength in round thousands.

Ahoms (197) are confined to the Brahmaputra Valley, where 66 per cent. of their number was censused in Sibsagar and 30 per cent. in Lakhimpur.

Baruis (25) live mostly in Sylhet, where seven-eighths of them were found: about one-eleventh were enumerated in Cachar.

Bauris (44) were imported to Assam by the tea gardens, where no less than four-fifths were censused: they are strong in Cachar, Sylhet, Lakhimpur and Sibsagar.

Bhars (14) are also tea-garden importations: over 68 per cent. of them were found on tea gardens: they are most numerous in the Surma Valley.

Bhuinmalis (35) are practically confined to Sylhet: many of them have returned themselves as Malis.

Bhuiyas (67) show 66 per cent. of their number on tea gardens: nearly two-fifths of them were censused in Sibsagar and the majority of the rest in Lakhimpur, Darrang, Cachar and Sylhet.

Bhumiz (39) is an imported caste, which has a similar distribution to the last except that Sibsagar contains about two-sevenths of the total.

Borias (22) are confined to the Brahmaputra Valley, where over 41 per cent. were found in Nowgong, 27 per cent. in Sibsagar, and 19 per cent. in Darrang.

Brahmans (126) are scattered everywhere, but Sylhet contains nearly 32 per cent. of the total: there are about 21 per cent. in Kamrup, 14 per cent. in Sibsagar, and 9 per cent. in Darrang, where the Grahabipras or Ganaka have swollen the number: *vide* remarks in the glossary.

Chamars (54) are especially strong in the Surma Valley tea gardens : 68 per cent. of the total were censused on tea estates.

Chutiyas (89) are confined mostly to the upper Brahmaputra Valley : 65 per cent. were enumerated in Sibsagar, 22 per cent. in Lakhimpur, and 8 per cent. in Nowgong.

Doms (31) are now for the first time shown separately from Nadiyals and Patnis. It is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between indigenous Doms or Nadiyals and the foreigners who are imported by tea gardens or come up as fishermen and ferry men. About half the total number were censused on tea estates : over 27 and 35 per cent. of the total were censused in the districts of Lakhimpur and Sibsagar and about 12 per cent. each in Darrang and Cachar. In order to make an estimate I had notes made in the sorters' tickets, and found that in Sibsagar 60 per cent. of the Doms were Assamese, 25 per cent. were foreigners and 15 per cent. were not tested : in Lakhimpur 45 per cent. were not tested, and the remainder were half Assamese and half foreigners.

Ghasi (15) is another caste strong on tea gardens, where three-fourths of them were enumerated : 57 per cent. were in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, and the rest mainly in Cachar and Darrang.

Goalas (42) are scattered over the province, but no less than 34 per cent. were found on tea gardens : Sylhet contains 24 per cent. of the total.

Gonds (52) are recruited for tea gardens, where 63 per cent. of them were found : over 28 per cent. were enumerated in Lakhimpur, 22 per cent. in Sibsagar, and 23 per cent. in the Surma Valley.

Grahabipras or *Gunaks* (21) are strongest in the Brahmaputra Valley, where 73 per cent. of the total were enumerated, and they are mainly confined to Darrang and Kamrup, which account for 58 per cent. of the total.

Hiras (16) belong to the Brahmaputra Valley, where 42 per cent. were enumerated in Nowgong and 35 per cent. in Kamrup.

Jugis (169) are most numerous in Sylhet, which contains 47 per cent. of the total : the rest are scattered in numbers approximating to 10 per cent. in each of the plains districts except Lakhimpur, where they are few.

Kacharis (230) are confined to the Brahmaputra Valley and North Cachar : 93 per cent. were enumerated in the former, where Kamrup contained 46 per cent. and Darrang 27 per cent.

Kaibarttas (131) are returned in three classes, (i) Kaibarttas pure and simple, (ii) Chasi Kaibarttas or Mahishyas, (iii) Jaliya Kaibarttas. The two latter classes are confined to the Surma Valley, where they were practically all enumerated in Sylhet. The first class represents mainly Nadiyals and Kewats, who object to their own caste-names, but the Kewats are apparently now resigning in favour of the Nadiyals, with whom they do not wish to be confounded. The Nadiyals have obtained the permission of their gosain to call themselves Kaibarttas. Out of the 20,821 Kaibarttas censused in the Brahmaputra Valley, over 17,000 were enumerated in Kamrup.

Kalitas (222) belong to the Brahmaputra Valley, where Kamrup returned 59 per cent. and Sibsagar 19 per cent.

Kamars (43) are indigenous in the Surma Valley and also imported to tea estates, where more than half the total number was found, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur each containing 23 per cent. : as an indigenous caste they are most numerous in Sylhet.

Kayasthas (82) were returned mostly from Sylhet, which contains 68 per cent. of the total : about 25 per cent. were found in various districts of the Brahmaputra Valley.

Kewats (95) belong to the Brahmaputra Valley, where Kamrup contains 33 per cent., Sibsagar 27 per cent. and Nowgong and Darrang 16 and 17 per cent. respectively. See remarks above against Kaibarttas.

Kshattriyas (251) are the Hinduised Manipuris : 69 per cent. were returned in Manipur itself, 19 per cent. in Cachar and about 12 per cent. in Sylhet, both of which contain large settlements of Manipuris.

Koch (242) is the great caste of the Brahmaputra Valley into which converts from Animism are eventually absorbed, especially in the central districts : 43 per cent. were enumerated in Kamrup, 20 per cent. in Darrang, and 16 per cent. in Nowgong.

Kumhars (28) are almost equally divided between the two valleys : in the Surma Valley four-fifths were found in Sylhet, and in the Brahmaputra Valley more than half were censused in Kamrup.

Kurmi (25) is a foreign caste and almost half its members were enumerated on tea gardens, where they are strongest in the Surma Valley, Sibsagar, and Lakhimpur : the same distribution holds good for the total.

Lalungs (39) are practically confined to Nowgong, and there is an overflow of about 9 per cent. in Khasi Hills.

Lois (18) are entirely confined to Manipur.

Mahimal (77)is a low fishing caste of Muhammadans and is confined to the Surma Valley, where Sylhet contained 88 per cent. and Cachar 12 per cent.

Mali (*Malakar*) (14) is a clean caste, with which the Bhuinmalis wish to identify themselves : nearly 59 per cent. were found in Sylhet and 19 per cent. in Kamrup.

Malo (20) is a fishing caste of the Surma Valley, where over 80 per cent. were censused in Sylhet.

Mech (95) is the name of an Animistic tribe, which is practically the same as Kachari ; it is confined to Goalpara.

Mikirs (105) belong to the Brahmaputra Valley, where 45 per cent. were found in Nowgong, 24 per cent. in Sibsagar, and nearly 11 per cent. in Kamrup : in the two former districts there are Mikir hill tracts.

Miris (58) are confined to the upper Brahmaputra Valley, where they have come to settle from the hills on the north and east : they are Animists and are confined to Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, where however 59 per cent. of them are returned as Hindus, and Darrang.

Mundas (91) are imported by tea gardens, where 58 per cent. of them were censused : over 24 per cent. of the total were found in Lakhimpur : they are strong also in Sibsagar, Cachar, Sylhet and Darrang.

Musahars (14) are tea-garden coolies, who are most numerous in the Surma Valley, especially in Cachar : 67 per cent. were enumerated on tea estates.

Nadiyal (68) is a Brahmaputra Valley caste : they are now shown separately from Doms, who include foreigners : 31 and 26 per cent. were censused in Nowgong and Sibsagar, 17 per cent. in Kamrup, and 12 and 11 per cent. in Lakhimpur and Darrang.

Namasudra (173) is the name now in favour in the Surma Valley, but Charal still holds its place in the Brahmaputra Valley. Eight-ninths of the total were censused in the former, while in the latter the caste is confined to Kamrup and Goalpara.

Napits (37) are strongest in the Surma Valley, where 65 per cent. were censused in Sylhet : the Brahmaputra Valley contains 29 per cent., of which 16 per cent. were enumerated in Kamrup and 5 per cent in Goalpara.

Nuniyas (14) are earth-workers from Bihar : less than one-third were found on tea gardens : nearly one-third were enumerated in Sylhet : the rest were scattered over Sibsagar, Kamrup, Goalpara, and Cachar.

Oraons (29) are recruited by tea gardens, which contained nearly 41 per cent. of the total, mostly in the Brahmaputra Valley and especially in Lakhimpur : they were found also in Darrang, Sibsagar, and Cachar.

Pan (*Panika*) (18) is the name of a caste recruited by tea gardens, where 81 per cent. of the total were found : they are most numerous in Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, Sylhet, and Darrang.

Patni (111) is a Surma Valley caste : 64 per cent. were censused in Sylhet and the rest in Cachar.

Rabhas (79) belong to the Brahmaputra Valley, where 41 per cent. were enumerated in Goalpara.

Rajbansis (133) are practically confined to Goalpara, where over 96 per cent. of them were censused.

Rajput Chattri (27) is an up-country caste, 78 per cent. of the members of which were found in the Brahmaputra Valley: they are strongest in Darrang, Lakhimpur, Sibsagar and Kamrup : the number of women is only 59 per cent. of that of the men.

Santhals (59) are imported mainly by tea gardens, which contained 55 per cent. of them : 82 per cent. were censused in the Brahmaputra Valley; they are most numerous in Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, Goalpara, Darrang, Sylhet and Cachar. In Goalpara they live in a colony started by the Lutheran Mission of Chota Nagpur.

Shaha (54) is the great trading caste of Bengal : they are indigenous in Sylhet, which contained 67 per cent. of the total : most of the rest are in Kamrup and represent the Assamese caste Sau.

Sudras (119) are practically confined to Sylhet.

Sutradhars (16) are confined to Sylhet, which contains 83 per cent. of the total, and Goalpara, where 15 per cent. were censused.

Tantis (41) in Assam are mostly coolies on tea gardens, which contain 74 per cent. of them : they are strongest in Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, Darrang, Sylhet, and Cachar.

Teli (*Tili*) (39) as an indigenous caste is practically confined to Sylhet, which contains 73 per cent. of the total : the rest are mostly on tea gardens.

Turis (17) are imported by tea gardens, which contain 76 per cent. of them : they are strongest in Sibsagar and a good proportion were found in Cachar and Sylhet.

Comparison with 1901.

127. In Subsidiary Table II will be found in round thousands the number of persons returned at each census under each caste which contributes more than 2 per mille to the total population. I do not propose to examine each caste in turn, but shall draw attention to a few points deserving of notice. When castes show a general condition of progress, there is usually nothing to be said : they simply share in the general increases of population or of immigration : where there is a decrease, it is usually due (i) to an attempt to adopt a new caste name, or (ii) to some confusion with a similar name, or (iii) to the separation of castes or sub-castes previously grouped together.

The Baruis showed a decrease in 1901, because they tried to return themselves as Kayasthas, as they did in 1881 : now we have probably a greater approach to accuracy. The Bhuinmalis are apparently steadily declining, because they are more and more returning themselves as Malis. The Borias have recovered their losses in Nowgong from Kala-azar in 1901. Brahmans have increased partly by the inclusion of more Grahabipras and Barna Brahmans under the more respectable title, while Grahabipras have apparently just held their own. Gonds show an enormous increase since 1901, while Santhals show a very large decline against the very large expansion disclosed at the last census : I think that this must be due in part to a wrong return of caste either now or in 1901, and in view of the precautions taken at this census, I am inclined to rely more on our present figures : both castes are recruited by tea gardens, and the difference in the number of immigrants from the Central Provinces now and in 1901 is not sufficient to account for the very large increase in Gonds, nor is there any reason to believe that the number of Santhals has really decreased in practically every district of the province. The number of Jugis has grown, but they are still less than in 1891, probably because many of them returned themselves in Sylhet as Sudras. Kacharis are declining, partly by conversions to Hinduism, when they become Koches of various kinds, partly by excessive mortality in Mangaldai subdivision, and partly by their increased return as Meches in Goalpara. Kaibarttas have decreased because the name Kewat is returning to favour in the Brahmaputra Valley, and partly on account of the return of other names, such as Sudra, in the Surma Valley. Kayasthas show a decrease owing to the weeding out of persons improperly claiming this title, Koches are as yet fewer than in 1891, which is probably due to their still returning other names. It is satisfactory to notice that the Lalungs show signs of recovery from their large mortality from Kala-azar in 1901. Mahimals were returned in greater number in spite of the agitation to abolish Muhammadan caste names. Musahars have apparently decreased : this is probably due to the return of other names, correctly or incorrectly. The group Nadiyal-Dom-Patni shows an increase, which is partly attributable to the decrease in the return of Kaibartta. Namasudras are still less numerous than in 1891, probably again because the more well-to-do members of the community in Sylhet are disclaiming the name. The increase in Sekhs corresponds to the general increase of Muhammadans. Sudras show a very large increase, which accounts in part for the decrease in the Kaibartta and perhaps the Namasudra caste.

128. The question of race in India was considered on an anthropometrical basis in the last India Census Report, but since that time it would appear that anthropometry has fallen in favour. It was argued before the British Association in 1908 that physical type depends more on environment than on race. The old distinction between brachycephalic and dolichocephalic types seems to be baseless, if we accept as general the results of Walcher's experiments with babies in Germany: he apparently altered the shape of the head by using soft or hard pillows: with the former the infant slept on its back and became short-headed, while the hard pillow made it sleep on its side and produced the reverse result. Two lines of enquiry were suggested at the present census, first, as to the prevalence of pigmented tongues among the Munda and Dravidian races, and secondly how far the assertion of Baelz that the appearance of blue patches on the sacral region of infants is a proof of the existence of a Mongolian strain. I regret that the enquiry regarding the former was unsuccessful: out of 615 cases examined in Gauhati dispensary only two showed melanoglossia, of whom one was a Kayastha and one a Sudra, caste unspecified. In Sibsagar Dr. Smith examined 497 tea-garden coolies and found 68 cases of melanoglossia amongst the following castes:—Musahar and Rajwar of Monghyr, Santhal, Kamar and Kora of the Santhal Parganas, Bhuiya, Bhokta, Dosad and Turi of Hazaribagh, Oraon, Munda, Baraik, Kamar, Lohar and Rajput of Ranchi, Bhuiya of Gaya, Saura, Konda, Kora, and Telenga of Ganjam, Uriya of Berhampore and Gond of Seoni. In Lakhimpur it was found in nearly 50 per cent. of similar castes. Several doctors are of opinion that melanoglossia is a pathological phenomenon and therein differ from Lieutenant-Colonel Maynard, I.M.S., who originated the enquiry.

Race.

The information received regarding blue patches is more satisfactory. Their discoverer, Herr Baelz, describes them as follows:—

> Every Chinese, every Korean, Japanese and Malay is born with a dark blue patch of irregular shape in the lower sacral region. Sometimes it is equally divided on both sides and sometimes not. Sometimes it is only the size of a shilling and at other times nearly as large as the hand. In addition there are also more or less numerous similar patches on the trunk and limbs, but never on the face. Sometimes they are so numerous as to cover nearly half the surface of the body. Their appearance is as if the child had been bruised by a fall. These patches generally disappear in the first year of life, but some times they last for several years.

In Goalpara it is said that 30 to 40 per cent. of the infants of Meches, Rabhas and Rajbansis possess these blue marks, which are also found sporadically amongst other Hindus and Muhammadans, more especially in the north of the district. In Kamrup they appear in Kacharis and many local Hindus and Muhammadans: the actual results of cases examined are 70 per cent. among Kacharis, 50 per cent. among Koches, and 25 per cent. among Kalitas. In view of this it is surprising to learn that they are unknown in Darrang or Sibsagar, but I think that the enquiry was not made on proper lines in these districts. In Nowgong the spots are common amongst Mikirs, but are said not to exist on Lalung infants. In Lakhimpur they were found amongst Ahoms, Nadiyals, Kacharis, and Nepalis: the percentage amongst Ahoms was about 38, amongst Nadiyals 1, amongst Kacharis 25, and amongst Nepalis 10. In Cachar plains local Hindu and Muhammadan infants have the marks: amongst tea-garden coolies Captain Godson, Civil Surgeon, found them in 35 per cent. of Chota Nagpuri castes. The spots are very common amongst Lushais, Khasis, and Garos, and appear on Naga and Manipuri infants, but are said not to be very prevalent. It is rather difficult to draw certain conclusions from the above reports and in fact the enquiry is a difficult one to make, because the people when questioned are inclined to give a brief negative reply and so spare themselves further questioning, and it is not always feasible for officers who are engaged in other duties to take up an investigation of this kind. The negative results of Darrang and Sibsagar are contradicted by the reports from neighbouring districts with regard to the castes which are common to all. Originally reports were received from the Civil Surgeons of the Garo and the Lushai Hills that blue spots were not found in their charges, but Colonel Cole found by actual examination that they exist in 90 per cent. of Lushai infants, and further enquiries in the Garo Hills by the Deputy Commissioner and another Civil Surgeon proved their existence in 75 per cent. of Garo infants. I think that, on the whole, it would be fair to assume that blue spots are fairly common amongst all classes in Assam, though I have had no report from Sylhet. If this assumption is compared with the results in other parts of India, it may be possible to deduce the southern limit of the Mongolian strain.

GLOSSARY.

[NOTE.—Castes which are indigenous are marked as follows :—When indigenous in Province (A), in Brahmaputra Valley (B), in Hills (H), in Surma Valley (S). The figures in brackets after each name are the total strength of the caste : with a few indigenous exceptions, no caste with less than 100 members has been shown.]

129. Abor (B) (856)—A tribe inhabiting the hills on the north-east of Brahmaputra Valley between the Dihong and the Sesseri, whose violence necessitated a punitive expedition in 1911-12. They are divided into numerous clans, but, unlike the majority of hillmen, act together in all matters affecting the general welfare of the tribe.

Agaria (1,149)—A cultivating caste found in the tributary mahals of Chota Nagpur. More than half were censused on tea gardens in Cachar, Sylhet, and Sibsagar.

Agarwal (5,360)—A wealthy trading caste of Upper India, who claim to represent the Vaisyas of Manu ; they are known under the generic term of 'Kayah.'

Agradani Brahman (217)—A degraded sub-caste of Brahmans, who read *mantras* at cremations and take gifts at *sradhs*.

Ahir (12,763)—This name indicates either a section of Ghasis or a sub-caste of Goalas, but there is nothing to show to which caste these Ahirs belonged.

Ahom (B) (197,444)—The Ahoms are the descendants of a Shan tribe who entered Assam in the 13th century and, after overthrowing the Chutiya and Koch Kingdoms, became rulers of the Brahmaputra Valley : see Gait's *History of Assam*.

Aiton (B) (414)—A small section of the Shan tribe, who are said to have supplied eunuchs for the royal seraglios. Like the Noras and Phakiyals, they are still Buddhists. Some of them have possibly been returned as Shans.

Aka (H) (36)—A small and independent tribe occupying the hills to the north of Tezpur between Towang and the Bhorelli. Colonel Dalton considers them to be closely allied to the Daflas, Miris, and Abors, but they differ from them considerably in appearance.

Asura (450)—A small non-Aryan tribe of Ranchi, who in their own country are smelters of iron ; 165 were censused on tea gardens.

Atit (173)—This term may indicate either a religious mendicant or a guest.

Bagdi (8,391)—A cultivating, fishing and menial caste of Central and Western Bengal, who appear to be of Dravidian descent : 6,066 out of the total number enumerated were censused on tea gardens.

Baidya (S) (5,610)—The physician caste, who are said to be the same as the Ambastha of Manu, *i.e.*, the offspring of a Brahman father and Vaisya mother. They hold a high position in Hindu society. In Bengal they wear the sacred thread, but this is not as yet the practice in Sylhet, and they observe, like Sudras, thirty days' *asaucha* (impurity after birth or death). The great majority of the Baidyas are found in Sylhet, where they inter-marry with Kayasthas. They abstain from all manual labour.

Baishnab or Bairagi (A) (11,344)—A term indicating a religious mendicant, generally devoted to the worship of Vishnu, who may be of any caste. Most of those enumerated were censused in Sylhet.

Baiti or Chunari (S) (1,135)—A small caste which derives its second title from being engaged in the manufacture of lime from shells : its members are also mat-makers, weavers, dancers, and beggars.

Baniya (A) (200)—The term has a wide connotation, and, properly speaking, is not a caste name at all. Those returned in Kamrup were probably Sonars, who are natives of the province ; the name is also used by Gandhabaniks in Sylhet, and by foreigners who trade in grain and other articles.

Barhi (711)—Theoretically, the carpenter caste of Behar, but many of its members have taken to agriculture.

Barna Brahman (A) (5,065)—Under the term Barna Brahman are included the priests of those castes to whom a good Brahman declines to minister. These persons are either genuine Brahmans, who have been degraded, or members of the caste they serve, who by a fiction have been created Brahmans. The return of such a caste is obviously most unreliable.

Barui (S) (25,154)—The Barui are cultivators of the betel-vine, and their pan gardens are to be seen on the banks of many of the rivers in the Sylhet district, which contains 22,316 of the total number enumerated at the census. The Baruis are members of the Nabasakh, and have a Srotriya Brahman as their priest ; but they are not contented with their position, and endeavour to get themselves entered as Kayasthas.

Bauri (43,952)—A cultivating caste of Western Bengal of non-Aryan origin. Their social status is very low, and, they eat beef, pork, and fowls, and are much addicted to strong drink. They are employed as coolies in Assam, 25,000 of them having been censused on the tea plantations.

Bediya (4,191)—It is obviously impossible to be certain whether the persons returned under this name are Bedias or Bediyas. The Bedias are a small agricultural tribe of Chota Nagpur, who are supposed to be connected with the Kurmis. The majority of the people returned under this head were censused in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, and were probably Bedias. Bediya is the generic name of a number of vagrant gipsy-like groups.

Behara (365)—A title of Bagdis, Bauris, Chanda's, Kahars, and others.

Beldar (270)—An earth-working caste of Behar and Western Bengal. They are akin to the Nunias, but will only carry the earth in baskets balanced on the head; 159 were censused on tea gardens.

Besya (A) (1,494)—A title of prostitutes used in Sylhet and Goalpara.

Bhandari (S) (155)—A title applied to indoor servants in Sylhet.

Bhar (14,269)—A small Dravidian caste of Western Bengal and Chota Nagpur; 9,700 were censused on the tea gardens of the province, the great majority being found in the Surma Valley.

Bhat (S) (969)—A respectable caste, whose traditional occupation is that of genealogist and family bard. In Sylhet they claim to be Kshattriyas, and a certain number have probably returned themselves under that name; but though Brahmans will take their water, they will not take food cooked by them. Very few Bhats were censused outside the Sylhet district.

Bhatiya (643)—A term applied in Goalpara to 'down river' Muhammadans who come to Assam to trade.

Bhogta (11,019)—Said to be a sub-caste of Kharwar, but in Ranchi it is a separate caste: their traditional occupation is grain-parching, but now-a-days the people are usually labourers and cultivators.

Bhotia (763)—The majority were censused in Kamrup and Darrang, these being the two districts between which and Towang (a small province under the control of Tibet, which touches our frontier near Udalguri) and Bhutan there is most trade.

Bhuinmali (S) (35,238)—An indigenous caste of Sylhet, who are said to be allied to the Haris. The majority of the caste are now cultivators, palanquin bearers, tank excavators, and so forth. In 1881 these persons were all shown as Mali, and the decrease in numbers at the present census, as compared with 1901 and 1891, is probably due to an increased use of this term. Very few Bhuinmalis were censused outside the Sylhet district.

Bhuiya (66,670)—An aboriginal tribe of Chota Nagpur, which is in great request on tea gardens, where 44,116 Bhuiyas were censused. They were found in considerable numbers in every tea district, more especially in Sibsagar.

Bhumij (38,664)—A Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur closely allied to the Munda. They are still in a primitive stage of Hinduism, and consume fowls and liquor. Probably all the Bhumij censused in the province came to it originally as coolies, and 24,560 were censused on the tea plantations.

Bind (3,260)—A large non-Aryan caste of Behar and Upper India, who are connected with the Nunias. Their social status is low, and they are generally employed as fishermen, earth-workers, and daily labourers; 1,673 were censused on tea gardens.

Binjhia (873)—An agricultural tribe found in Palamau district. They are still in the earlier stages of conversion to Hinduism, and eat fowl and wild pig. In Assam they are employed as garden coolies.

Birhor (454)—A small Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur, who live in the jungle in tiny huts made of branches of trees, and eke out a miserable living by snaring hares and monkeys and collecting jungle products. The Birhors censused in Assam have been imported as garden coolies.

Boria (B) (21,513)—A caste which is peculiar to Assam, and is formed from the offspring of Brahman and Ganak widows and their descendants. Boria is said to be derived from 'bari,' a widow, but people prefer to call themselves Sut. The children of Brahman girls who have attained puberty before marriage and so have to be married to men of a lower caste are also classed with Borias. It is a singular fact that Borias are more numerous in Nowgong than in any other district, though the number of Brahmans there is comparatively small.

Brahman (A) (126,015)—The highest of the three twice-born castes and originally the priest of the Aryan community. In the eleventh century Ballal Sen, a king of Bengal, instituted a careful enquiry into the qualifications of the Brahmans in his kingdom, and a certain proportion were found deficient in their knowledge of the Hindu ritual and lax in their practice. According to one tradition these ignorant Brahmans were the ancestors of the greater part of the Brahman community in Assam and though their numbers have from time to time been recruited by priests who were imported from India by the various native kings, the Brahmans of Assam are not so highly organised a community as those of Bengal. There is no Kulinism, in the Assam Valley there are no sub-castes, and in Sylhet the Rarhi and Barendra sub-castes are almost unknown. In Lower Assam Brahmans are said to take *gadhon* when they give their daughters in marriage, and there is a certain amount of laxity in their observance of the rules regarding the *gotra*. See Agradani and Barna Brahman.

Brittial Baniya (B) (9,084).—At the 1891 census this caste was returned under the name of Hari, which was shown in brackets in 1901 and now disappears: the following remarks were recorded about them in the 1891 report:—

"Their position has of late years much improved, especially in the Brahmaputra Valley, where they have taken largely to trade and to working in gold, and many of them now describe themselves by euphemistic terms expressive of these occupations, such as Brittiyal and Sonari."

Chakma (255)—An important tribe in Chittagong Hill Tracts; none were enumerated outside Lushai Hills.

Chamar (54,234)—The tanner caste of Behar and Upper India. They are largely employed as coolies, especially in the Surma Valley, and 36,733 were censused on tea gardens. They stand at the very bottom of the scale in the Hindu social system.

Chasa (4,450)—The chief cultivating caste of Orissa, who, though probably of non-Aryan origin, rank sufficiently high for Brahmans to take water from their hands; 3,598 out of the total were numerated on tea gardens.

Chero (1,245)—A cultivating caste of Behar and Chota Nagpur, which there enjoys a fairly good position ; 961 Cheros were censused on tea gardens.

Chik (Baraik) (5,703).—A sub-caste of Pans in Chota Nagpur : 3,561 were censused on tea gardens in all the tea districts.

Chutiya (B) (88,825)—This caste represents the descendants of a tribe who were the dominant power in the Upper Brahmaputra Valley before the Ahoms, who crushed them in the beginning of the 16th century. They are now divided into Hindu, Ahom, and Borhi Chutiyas.

Dafla (B) (989)—A tribe who live in the hills to the north of the Tezpur and North Lakhimpur subdivisions.

Dalu (329).—A Hinduised section of the Garos found in the plains on the south and in Mymensingh : see Playfair's *Garos*, page 60, where they are called Duals.

Damai (1,331)—A Nepalese caste, whose traditional occupation is tailoring.

Darzi (708)—An occupational rather than a caste name, indicating a tailor.

Datiya (937)—A Muhammadan fishing caste found in Goalpara, where they are probably immigrants from Rangpur or Mymensingh.

Dehan (S) (1,152)—A small caste in Cachar, who are said to have formed part of an expedition despatched from the Assam Valley in the time of Nar Narayan. They claim to be Koches or Rajbansis.

Dhanuk (519)—A cultivating caste of Behar. Their social position is respectable, as they rank with Kurmis and Koiris, and Brahmans will take water from their hands ; 145 were censused on tea gardens.

Dhenuar (560)—A section of Kharias in Chota Nagpur ; 451 were censused on tea gardens.

Dhimar (275)—A Behari caste, whose traditional occupation is grain-parching : they work as servants and labourers.

Dhoba or Dhobi (S) (36,868)—The Dhobas are the washerman caste of Bengal and Orissa, and the Dhobi the corresponding caste in Bihar ; I have amalgamated them, as the names are so much alike and very little reliance can be placed upon separate figures. The social position of the caste is low and they rank with Chandals and people of that class ; the decrease noticed in 1901 in Sylhet has disappeared owing to more accurate enumeration : in 1901 they were suspected of having returned themselves in numbers as Sudras in Sylhet.

Dholi (S) (11,292)—A functional caste which has possibly sprung from the Patni or Kaibartta. They rank very low in the social scale, and their traditional occupation is drumming. Only 109 Dholis were censused outside Sylhet.

Dhunia (103)—A Muhammadan caste of cotton carders.

Doaniya (B) (1,847)—A mixed race, descended from Singphos and their Assamese slaves ; 30 were censused in Sibsagar and 1,544 in Lakhimpur.

Dosadh (10,038)—A degraded Aryan or refined Dravidian caste of Behar and Chota Nagpur. Their social status is very low, and they will eat pork, tortoises, and fowls : 5,632 were censused on tea gardens, the majority being found in the Surma Valley.

Gandapal (S) (973)—A small caste, which is practically confined to Sylhet. One theory of their origin is that they were hillmen who were employed as guards on boats navigating the *haors* of western Sylhet, where there used formerly to be a good deal of river dacoity, and who subsequently took to boating as a profession.

Gandabanik (S) (2,077)—The spice-selling, druggist, and grocer caste of Bengal. They are sometimes called Baniyas, and of late years have taken to the manufacture of jewellery. They are a clean Sudra caste and are included amongst the Nabasakh ; 1,476 were censused in Sylhet and 589 in Goalpara.

Ganjhu (160)—A title of Binjhias, Gonds, Khandaits, Kharwars, Musahars and others : the great decrease since 1901, when they numbered 2,472, is due to more accurate enumeration : practically all those returned were in Sylhet and none were found on tea gardens.

Gareri (1,934)—The shepherd and goatherd caste of Behar.

Gaur (2,574)—The milkman caste of Orissa : those censused here were imported by tea gardens, which contained 2,020 of them.

Garo (H) (144,350)—An Animistic tribe, whose home is in the hills which bear their name : see Playfair's *Garos*. Their number in 1901 was 128,117.

Gharti (274)—A Nepalese caste or sub-caste.

Ghasi (15,114)—A Dravidian fishing and cultivating caste of Chota Nagpur. They rank with Doms and Musahars, eat beef and pork and are greatly addicted to drink. The Ghasis are a coolie caste and 11,319 were censused on tea gardens.

Ghatwal (4,068)—This is not a caste, but a title of many castes, such as Bhumij, Kharwar, Bauri, etc., who have been brought to the province as garden coolies. The name was returned by only one-fifth of the number shown in 1901 owing to more accurate enumeration : in spite of local enquiries, I could not discover the real castes of the people now shown, as they were ignorant of the true names.

Goala (S) (42,245)—The cowherd caste of India. In Behar they rank as a clean caste, from whom Brahmans can take water. In Bengal they are placed below the Nabasakh, but in Orissa the Goalas affect a high standard of purity, and look down upon their caste fellows in Bengal and Behar. The Goalas in the Brahmaputra Valley are probably all foreigners, and only a portion of those in Sylhet and Cachar are natives of the province.

Gond (51,572)—A Dravidian tribe of the Central Provinces, who come to this province as coolies. I have referred to their great increase in paragraph 127.

Gorait (3,547)—A caste of Ranchi and Palamau, whose traditional occupation is music and comb-making. They eat beef and pork, and indulge freely in liquor; 2,590 were censused on tea gardens.

Gosain (164)—Not a caste, but the title of Hindu missionaries or preachers; 99 were censused in Kamrup.

Grahabipra (Ganak) (21,489)—The agitation in the Brahmaputra Valley, where Ganaks hold a much higher position than in the Surma Valley and Bengal, lead to the adoption of the new title Grahabipra. In Bengal they are known as Acharji or Daibajna Brahmans, but apparently the high caste Brahmans of the Brahmaputra Valley object to the use of their title.

Guria (Godia) (441)—The confectioner caste of Orissa and a sub-caste of Mallahs in Bihar: probably those censused are Mallahs from their distribution, Cachar and Goalpara containing the majority.

Gurung (21,241)—One of the best of the fighting tribes of Nepal. They are found in every district of the province, but are most numerous in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where a Gurkha regiment is stationed.

Hajong (8,288)—The home of this tribe is the Garo Hills and the submontane tracts of Sylhet, 6,492 persons having been censused in the former and 1,543 in the latter district. In 1891, the Hajong language and the Hajong tribe were both said to be of Bodo origin, but subsequent investigations have revealed that the Hajong language is akin to Bengali.

Hajam (2,913)—The barber caste of Behar. Their status is good, and Brahmans take water from their hands.

Halwai (1,330)—The confectioner caste of Behar. Their social position is good and Brahmans will take water from their hands. They are found in small numbers in most of the districts of the province, where they are probably serving as shopkeepers.

Hari (S) (5,588)—A menial and scavengering caste of Bengal.

Hira (B) (16,351)—The caste is said to be a functional offshoot from the Namasudra or Chandal. The Hiras are potters, the men bringing the clay and taking the pots to market, and the women fashioning them, not with the potter's wheel, but by laying on the earth in strips. Hiras drink and smoke with Chandals, and give them their daughters in marriage, but will not take a Chandalni to wife themselves. The increase in their numbers is due to more accurate enumeration than in 1901.

Jaladha (B) (6,709)—In Darrang these people are said to be a degraded class of Kachari, but they claim to be superior and not inferior to that tribe. According to Mr. Allen Jaladhas and Kacharis do not, as a rule, inter-marry, and when they do, they have to perform *praschit*, the wife taking the caste of her husband. In Goalpara, where the majority of Jaladhas are found, they are said to have taken *saran*, and to have a Brahman and a Napit.

Jat (135)—Either a sub-caste of Goalas, or an agricultural caste of the Punjab.

Jatapu (753)—A civilised section of the Khonds in Madras: they were enumerated only in tea gardens in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur.

Jhora (703)—A small caste of Chota Nagpur believed to be a sub-tribe of Gonds: the name is also used as a title by Kewats in Behar; 612 were censused on tea gardens.

Jolaha (7,207)—A Muhammadan weaver caste: 72 were returned as Hindus: the majority were censused in Sylhet and Goalpara.

Jugi (A) (169,097)—A weaving caste whose origin is obscure, and who are treated with much contempt by the pure Sudra castes. In the Surma Valley they style themselves Nath, and claim descent from Gorakshanath, a devotee of Gorakhpur, who is said to have been an incarnation of Siva. On the strength of this ancestor, the Jugis bury instead of burn their dead, and frequently pose as sannyasis. In Cachar they are making great efforts to rise in the social scale, and are discarding widow remarriage. In the Brahmaputra Valley the caste contains five subdivisions, the Sapmelas or snake-charmers, the Katanis, the Polupohas, or rearers of silkworms, the Duliyas or palki-bearers, and the Thiyapotas, who bury their dead upright: the Katanis usually burn their dead, and the Jugis of Goalpara are taking to infant marriage.

Kachari (B & H) (230,102)—A section of the great Bodo tribe, which at one time seems to have been in occupation of a large part of the valley of the Brahmaputra. See Endle's *Kacharis*.

Kahar (11,706)—A cultivating and palanquin-bearing caste of Behar, who in Bengal rank in the social scale with Kurmis and Goalas, Brahmans taking water from their hands, but according to Risley many of them eat fowls, and they are much addicted to liquor; 3,703 were censused on tea gardens, mostly in the Surma Valley.

Kaibartta (A) (131,253)—According to Risley no serious attempt can be made to trace the origin of the Kaibartta, but he suggests as a plausible hypothesis that they were amongst the earliest inhabitants of Bengal, and occupied a commanding position there, and that the Kewats were a branch of the same tribe which settled in Behar, gradually became endogamous and adopted a Hindu name. In Kamrup the names Kewat and Kaibartta seem to be interchangeable, but, as the Nadiyals want to be known as Kaibarttas, the Kewats are discarding the name. The Kaibarttas are divided into two functional groups, which for all intents and purposes are separate castes, the Chasi and the Jaliya, but this distinction is practically confined to the Surma Valley, where, as in Bengal, the Chasi Kaibarttas were permitted to return themselves as Mahishyas. Closely allied to them is the Halwa Das caste, which at first wish to be identified with the Mahishyas, but there was a split some years ago, and many of the Halwa Dases kept aloof from the Mahishyas. In Eastern Bengal there was no such difference of opinion and the whole efforts of the caste were directed to secure their distinction from the Jaliya Kaibarttas. In defence to the want of unanimity in Sylhet Government decided that, though the Halwa Dases should be included in the total of the Mahishyas, their number should be shown separately

in the remarks column of Table XIII. Unfortunately, owing to the neglect of my directions, these orders were not obeyed in the central office at Chittagong, where the Sylhet slips were sorted, and the Halwa Dases do not now appear. Perhaps they will have made up their differences with the Mahishyas at the next census. The strength of the three sections is as follows :—

Kaibartta	20,843,	almost all in the Brahmaputra Valley.
Mahishya (Chasi Kaibartta)	65,312	almost all in Surma Valley.
Jaliya Kaibartta	45,098	

Kalita (B) (221,942) —There is much uncertainty as to the origin of this caste. The popular explanation is that Kalitas are Kshattriyas, who, fleeing from the wrath of Parasu Ram, concealed their caste and their persons in the jungles of Assam, and were thus called Kul lupta. Other theories are that they are Kayasthas degraded for having taken to cultivation, an explanation which in itself seems somewhat improbable. The most plausible suggestion is that they are the remains of an Aryan colony, who settled in Assam at a time when the functional castes were still unknown in Bengal, and that the word 'Kalita' was originally applied to all Aryans who were not Brahmans. See paragraph 123 on caste government.

Kalu (2,031)—A sub-caste of Telis.

Kalwar (2,490)—A liquor-selling and trading caste of Behar. Their social status is low and Brahmans will not take water from their hands ; 1,385 were censused on tea gardens.

Kamar (S) (43,285)—According to Risley, the metal-working caste of Bengal and Behar, who are distinguished from the Lohars by not confining themselves to iron as the material of their art. In Bengal and Behar their water is taken by Brahmans. No less than 24,158 Kamars are employed as garden coolies, but they are indigenous in Sylhet.

Kami (1,338)—The blacksmith caste of Nepal. They are found in small numbers in nearly every district in the Province.

Kandh (5,138)—A Dravidian tribe of one of the tributary States of Orissa, famous for the systematic and brutal manner in which they used to sacrifice human beings to ensure successful harvests: 4,543 were censused on tea gardens.

Kandu (2,058)—A grain-parching caste of Bengal and Behar, where they rank with Koiris and Goalas, as Brahmans take water from their hands : 1,374 were censused on tea gardens, mostly in the Surma Valley.

Kansari (392)—The brazier caste of Bengal. Their social position is respectable.

Kaora (586)—Swineherds : they are a sub-caste of Hari.

Kapali (S)—(1,591)—A weaving caste, who are practically confined to the Sylhet district. Their social position is low, and Brahmans do not take their water.

Kapuria (142)—A gipsy caste from the United Provinces ; they beg, steal, and deal in ponies : the women make baskets.

Kaur (1,456)—A caste, probably of Dravidian origin, who are found in the tributary States of Chota Nagpur ; 894 were censused on tea gardens.

Kayastha (A) (81,967)—The writer caste, which is indigenous to Sylhet, and there are a certain number of genuine Brahmaputra Valley Kayasthas, though I am inclined to think that the considerable proportion of the so-called Kaiets are only Kalitas who have risen in the world. In the Brahmaputra Valley the Kayasthas are beginning to adopt the sacred thread, but wear it very short ; but this fashion has not yet spread to the Surma Valley, and the Kayasthas do not attempt to pose as Kshattriyas, though occupying a good position in society. They inter-marry with Baidyas in the Surma Valley.

Kewat (94,777)—See under Kaibarttta : Kewats are practically confined to the Brahmaputra Valley, and their number has increased largely for the reasons given in paragraph 126.

Khadal (4,266)—A low Orissa caste who work as labourers : they have been imported by tea gardens, which contain 3,259 of the total.

Khambu (3,252)—One of the fighting tribes of Nepal.

Khamti (B) (1,868)—A Shan tribe, who have settled in the country to the north and east of the Lakhimpur district.

Khandait (1,327)—A cultivating caste of Orissa, who have been brought to this province as coolies, 1,113 having been censused on tea gardens.

Khandelwal (120)—A trading caste similar to the Agarwala.

Kharia (12,357)—A Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur, largely employed as coolies, 8,311 having been censused on tea gardens.

Kharwar (7,074)—A Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur employed as garden coolies ; 4,161 were enumerated on tea estates.

Khas (2,014)—One of the best of the fighting tribes of Nepal.

Khasi (H) (120,894)—The tribe who share the Khasi and Jaintia Hills with the Syntengs, Wars, Lyng-ngams and other tribes. See Gurdon's *Khasis*.

Khatik (133)—A low cultivating caste of Behar, who rank little higher than the Musahars.

Khawandkar (134)—A title of Muhammadan teachers.

Khawas (100)—A title of Dhanuks and Kewats : it is also the name of the slave caste of Nepal.

Khen (Khyen) (983)—A caste practically confined to Goalpara and Kamrup : they must have included with Kalitas in 1901 : they sometimes marry Kalita women, who thereby lose caste, but Kalitas will not eat with them.

Kichak (118)—A scavenging caste in Dacca, where they form a small community : they are said originally to have been dacoits : they were almost all censused in Sibsagar, where they were imported by the tea gardens.

Kob (36)—This tribe was censused in Manipur: it is a Shan tribe.

Koch (B) (237,573)—According to Mr. Gait, "the name in Assam is no longer that of a tribe, but rather of a Hindu caste into which all converts to Hinduism from the different tribes—Kachari, Garo, Hajong, Lalung, Mikir, etc., are admitted on conversion. In Assam, therefore, it seems, for the present at any rate, desirable to treat the Koch as allied to the Bodo, and through them as a branch of the Mongolian stock." They rank as a clean Sudra caste in the Upper Brahmaputra Valley and Brahmans will take water from their hands, but their position is not so good in the central and western districts, as in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur Animists who are converted to Hinduism retain their tribal names, and do not think it necessary to pretend to be Koches. There are various subdivisions of the Koch caste, through which the family of a convert passes in successive generations.

Koiri (14,000)—A cultivating caste of Behar and Chota Nagpur. Their social position is respectable, and Brahmans will take water from their hands. In Assam they are employed as coolies, and 6,976 were censused on tea gardens.

Kol (3,898)—A generic term applied to Mundas, Oraons, Bhumij and Kharias; 3,309 were enumerated on tea gardens.

Kora (3,839)—A Dravidian caste of earth-workers in Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal; their social position is very low, and in Chota Nagpur they are said to eat beef, pork, and fowls; 3,352 were censused on tea gardens.

Korwa (3,594)—A Dravidian tribe of Palamau. They have only recently entered the pale of Hinduism, though in Assam only a small number returned themselves as Animists; 2,763 were censused on tea gardens.

Kshattriya (H) (250,541)—This is the caste returned by practically all Manipuri Hindus. In 1901 they were shown under Khatri, which is the title of a mercantile caste of the Punjab. Their distribution has been discussed in paragraph 126. See Hodson's *Meitheis*.

Kuki (H) (77,196)—A hill tribe akin to the Lushais, most of whose settlements are to be found in Cachar, Naga Hills and Manipur. The sub-sections of the tribe are shown in an appendix to Table XIII.

Kumhar (A) (27,913)—The potter caste, which in Bengal is one of the members of the Nabasakh. They are most numerous in Sylhet where 12,146 were censused, and Kamrup, where 7,441 were enumerated; but, as pointed out by Mr. Gait, it is doubtful whether in the Brahmaputra Valley the Kumhar is not merely a Kalita who has taken to pottery; 2,705 Kumhars were censused on tea gardens.

Kureshi (S) (332)—A Muhammadan tribe in Sylhet, who trace their descent to Kuresh of Mecca, one of the ancestors of Muhammad. The decrease in their numbers is presumably due to many of them having returned themselves as Sheikh.

Kurmi (24,520)—A large cultivating caste of Upper India, Behar and Chota Nagpur. In Behar the social status of the caste is respectable, but in Chota Nagpur they eat fowls and field rats, and are much addicted to liquor, so that Brahmans do not take water at their hands. They are largely employed as coolies in Assam, and 11,513 were censused on tea gardens.

Kusiari (S) (1,999)—The Kusiari are a caste indigenous to Sylhet, who are said to be called after the river of that name, though the connection of ideas is far from clear. Their complexion is generally dark, and they are supposed to be descended from some hill tribe. They are industrious, pugnacious and well-to-do, and have increased by about 50 per cent. since 1901.

Kwi (3)—A Shan or Burmese tribe, three members of which were found in Manipur.

Lakher (3,647)—A section of Lushais: see Lieutenant-Colonel's note at the end of this glossary: they were found only in Lushai Hills.

Lalbegi (469)—A sweeper caste.

Lalung (B) (39,219)—A tribe probably of Bodo origin, who inhabit the southern portion of the Nowgong district. Most of the tribal legends represent them as moving from the Khasi and Jaintia Hills to the plains, as they disapproved of the ruling of the Khasi chiefs that inheritance should go through the female. Another quaint tradition says that they originally lived near Dimapur, but moved into the Jaintia Hills to escape from the necessity of providing the Kachari king with six seers of human milk every day, this being an article of diet to which he was much attached. The tribe is divided into a number of clans, whose names suggest a totemistic origin, and all of which, except the Masorang, are exogamous. The Lalung religion is of the usual Animistic type, and in the time of the Assam Rajas they are said to have sacrificed eight human victims annually to their gods. They are now recovering from their decimation by kala-azar. The Deputy Commissioner reports that there is no reason to believe that they are losing by conversion to Hinduism: on conversion they become Saru Koches.

Lodha (1,160)—An agricultural and labouring caste of the United Provinces; 1,016 were censused on tea gardens.

Lohait Kuri (S) (598)—A small fishing caste, who live on the banks of the Meghna; but in Sylhet, which is practically the only district in which they were censused, the Lohait is a grain-parcher, and has nothing to do with fishing. Brahmans will eat fried rice prepared by them, but will not take their water.

Lohar (12,191)—The blacksmith caste of Behar, Chota Nagpur, and Western Bengal. They are largely employed as coolies in Assam, and 8,372 were censused on tea gardens.

Loi (H) (18,170)—The descendants of one of the aboriginal tribes who formerly occupied the south of the Manipur valley. They claim to be Hindus, but are not recognised as such by the orthodox. Under former rule Manipuris used to be degraded, either temporarily or permanently, to the grade of Loi as a punishment: see Hodson's *Meitheis*. Their number has quintupled since 1901.

Lushai (H) (80,425)—For an account of the Lushai tribes, see the Note by Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, I.A., appended to this chapter: their sub-sections are shown in an apppendix to Table XIII.

Lyng-ngam (H) (1,993)—A tribe in the west of the Khasi Hills: see Gurdon's *Khasis*.

Magh (168)—The popular designation of a group of Indo-Chinese tribes; 58 Maghs were censused in the Lushai Hills; the remainder were probably persons who had come from Chittagong to take service as cooks in European households.

Mahalia (B) (4,481)—A name taken by Kachari converts to Hinduism: I have amalgamated them with the Koches: 3,684 were censused in Darrang.

Mahara (S) (1,660)—A title used by Kahars, whose traditional occupation is palki-bearing. Very few Maharas are found outside Sylhet, but a considerable number of the caste seem to have returned themselves simply as Kahars: there is a steady decrease in the number returned since 1891.

Maheśri (916)—A trading caste of Northern India closely allied to the Agarwals and Oswals; they were all censused in the Brahmaputra Valley.

Mahli (3,274)—A Dravidian caste of labourers found in Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal. Their social position is low, and they rank with the Bauris and Dosadhs; 5,110 were censused on tea gardens.

Mahimal (S) (77,379)—A Muhammadan fisher caste of Sylhet and Cachar.

Mal (6,695)—A Dravidian cultivating caste of the Rajmehal hills in Bihar. They are employed as coolies in Assam, and 4,784 were censused on tea gardens. Their social position is low.

Male (Sauria) (160)—Probably the same as Mal, according to Risley: 136 were censused on tea gardens.

Mali (A) (14,234)—Properly speaking, this caste is employed on the preparation of garlands, and in Bengal is included amongst the Nabasakh, but the Bhuinmalis of the Surma Valley claim the name. See under Bhuinmali and paragraphs 126 and 127 above.

Mallah (4,696)—A title applied to boatmen of various castes, the majority of whom were censused in Goalpara: I have included 133 Gonrhis in the total.

Malo (S) (20,357)—A fisher caste indigenous to Sylhet, ranking below the Kaibartta.

Mal Paharia (3,533)—A Dravidian tribe of the Santal Parganas: 2,900 were censused on tea gardens.

Man (H) (260)—The Assamese name for Burmese or Shan, under which name the Mans were entered in 1891. The majority of Mans were found in Garo Hills, where they form a small colony left behind by the Burmese invaders when compelled to retire before our troops.

Mangar (7,120)—One of the fighting castes of Nepal: they are most numerous in Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where there is a Gurkha regiment.

Manjhi (2,662)—A title used by boatmen and by Santals, Baglis, and numerous other castes; 1,281 Manjhis were censused on tea gardens.

Maratha (384)—A Deccan caste represented in the 114th Marathas, a wing of which was stationed at Dibrugarh.

Matak (B) (9,246)—The name formerly given to an old division of the upper Brahmaputra Valley lying between the Noa Dehing, the Brahmaputra and the southern hills, and thus including nearly the whole of the Lakhimpur district on the south bank. This tract of country was occupied by the followers of the Moamaria Gosain, who at the end of the 18th century had risen against the Ahom Rajas, and set up an independent ruler of their own. When the Singphos began to raid upon Assam, they found that the Moamarias offered a sterner resistance than the other Assamese and called them in consequence 'Matak,' or strong, and the name of the people was then applied to the country in which they lived. At the present day the term denotes a sect rather than a caste or nationality. The majority of the Mataks are Ahoms, Chutiyas and Doms; but there are a certain number of Kalitas, Kewats and Koches amongst them. All of these castes, except the Doms, are said to inter-marry, a fact which shows the looseness of the restrictions of caste in Assam. The very large increase in Mataks since 1901 is due to these castes not returning their real names: see Moran.

Maulik (Naiya) (4,227)—A Dravidian caste of Western Bengal and Manbhum. They have returned themselves as Hindus; but no Hindu will take water from their hands: 3,716 were censused on tea gardens.

Mayra (S) (2,186)—The confectioner caste of Bengal, who are indigenous in the Surma Valley. They are members of the Nabasakh, and in Sylhet good Brahmans serve as their priests.

Mech (B) (94,606)—The Mech are apparently identical with the Kachari tribe, but the name is practically confined to the Goalpara district: see paragraphs 126 and 127 above.

Mehtar (706)—A sub-caste of Haris, who remove nightsoil.

Mikir (B) (105,077)—A tribe is peculiar to the Brahmaputra Valley, see paragraph 126 above and Stack and Lyall's *Mikirs*.

Miri (B) (57,792)—There can be little doubt that the Miris are closely connected with the Abors, that they were originally settled in the hills to the north-east of the Province, and that they migrated to the plains to escape from the oppression of their more powerful neighbours. Like most of the hill tribes, they live in houses built on bamboo *changs*, which are generally situated on the banks of a river. Each successive census has shown a very large increase in the number of the Miris, so that it is evident that there must be continual immigration from the hills.

Mirshikari (S) (924)—A functional rather than a caste name, denoting a low class of people, generally Muhammadan, who live by hunting. The title is practically confined to Sylhet.

Mishmi (B) (271)—A tribe on the north-east frontier of Lakhimpur, supposed to be akin to the Miaotses or aborigines of Yunnan, whereas their neighbours, the Abors, are more closely allied to the Tibetan stock.

Moran (B) (1,405)—According to Mr. Gait, a distinct tribe, but the Lakhimpur officers describe them as an off-shoot of the Matak sect. The increase in their number since 1901 is due to castes of the Matak, or Moran sect, not returning their real names.

Moria (B) (1,582)—The descendants of Muhammadan prisoners taken captive when Turbuk was defeated and killed at Silghat in 1510 A.D. At the present day Moria seems to be almost synonymous with brazier. No Morias have returned themselves now as Hindus, on account of the efforts of Muhammadan preachers to lead them back. The majority were censused in Sibsagar and Darrang.

Muchi (13,697) —The leather-dressing caste of Bengal. They were in all probability originally a branch of the Chamars, though they now profess to look upon the latter as a separate and inferior caste. The social position of Muchis is very low; 2,637 were censused on tea gardens.

Mudi (140)—A title used by Binds, Bagdis, Koras and Oraons; 133 were found on tea gardens.

Mukhi (B) (2,718)—A small caste practically confined to Kamrup, whose traditional occupation is lime-burning. It has been suggested that they are a sub-caste of the Koch, but it is doubtful whether this view is correct.

Munda (91,268)—A Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur, largely employed as coolies; 53,109 were censused on tea gardens. The great majority of Mundas in Assam returned themselves as Hindus.

Muriyari (1,027)—Said to be connected with the Mallahs or Kewats: they come from the upper banks of the Ganges: 654 were censused on tea gardens.

Murmi (2,954)—A Nepalese caste, whose traditional occupation is cultivation, though a certain number are serving in the Military Police of the province.

Musahar (14,284)—A Dravidian cultivating caste of Behar connected with the Bhuiya. Their social status is very low; 9,581 were found on the tea estates of the province. The decrease in their numbers is probably due to more accurate enumeration.

Nadiyal (B) (68,350)—The fishing caste of the Brahmaputra Valley, who in occupation and status seem to correspond to the Jaliya Kaibarttas of the Surma Valley. They are cleanly in their habits, and very particular in their observance of the Hindu religion. They strongly object to the use of the term Dom, as they are afraid of being confounded with the sweeper caste of Bengal. They are now shown separately from Doms and Patnis, though it seems probable that they are members of the Dom tribe, who emigrated to Assam before the Dom caste had been assigned the degrading functions performed by them in Bengal.

Naga (H) (220,033)—I have included under this general head the various Naga tribes found in the hills that bear their name and in North Cachar and Manipur. See Hodson's *Naga Tribes of Manipur*. The details of the sub-sections are given in an appendix to Table XIII.

Nagarchi (S) (3,588)—Muhammadans who act as drummers; 3,172 were censused in Sylhet and the rest in Cachar.

Naiya (3,940)—A small Dravidian caste of Bhagalpur; included with Maulik, *q. v.*

Namasudra (A) (172,753)—A fishing and boating caste, who according to Manu are sprung from the illicit intercourse of a Sudra man with a Brahman woman, and are thus the lowest of the low; but within the last ten years the Namasudras of Bengal have made great efforts to rise and have improved their position immensely. In deference to their wishes the old title Chandal or Charal has now been dropped; in the Brahmaputra Valley the latter name is as yet in vogue, but only about 12 per cent. of the community were enumerated there, *vide* paragraph 126.

Napit (A) (36,868)—A clean Sudra caste of barbers, from whose hands Brahmans take water, which is included amongst the Nabasakh. Their services are indispensable to the orthodox Hindu, a fact which is said to make them somewhat independent in their manners. They are indigenous in Sylhet, but in the Assam Valley Napits generally belong to the Kalita caste.

Nat (A) (5,143)—The dancing caste of Bengal. Nat boys are in great requisition in Sylhet; in the Brahmaputra Valley the Nat is usually a Kalita.

Newar (1,777)—This is the name of a nationality rather than a caste and represents the inhabitants of Nepal prior to the Gurkha conquest of 1768.

Nikari (S)(1,631)—A Muhammadan caste of fishermen and fish sellers, practically confined to Sylhet.

Nora (B) (348)—A small Shan colony found in the Sibsagar district.

Nunia (14,358)—A Dravidian caste of Behar and Upper India, who come to this province to work as navvies: they are not quite so numerous as in 1901, when there was a good deal of railway construction in progress.

Oraon (28,583)—A Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur, much in request as coolies. Their social status is very low, as they are most promiscuous feeders; 11,598 Oraons were censused on tea gardens.

Oswal (1,536)—A wealthy and respectable trading caste of Behar and Upper India. The great majority were censused in the Assam Valley, where they and the similar castes, Oswal and Saraogi, are known under the generic name of Kayah.

Pahari (150)—A name used by both Ghasis and Saraogis. As 124 Paharis were censused on the tea gardens, they probably belonged to the former caste.

Pan (**Panika**) (17,932)—A low weaving, basket-making and servile caste of Chota Nagpur and Orissa. Their social status is very low, as they eat beef and pork. Pans come to this province as coolies, 14,556 being enumerated on tea gardens.

Pasi (6,943)—A Dravidian caste of Behar employed chiefly in the Surma Valley as garden coolies.

Patia, Patial or Patikar (A) (4,190)—Patia is the name of the caste in the Brahmaputra Valley, where it is practically confined to Nowgong, and where their original occupation was mat-making, but they are said to have abandoned it for agriculture. Elsewhere the caste is known as Patial

and is a functional name used by mat-makers in Sylhet, where they manufacture the well-known *sital-pati*, and in Goalpara.

Pator (1,003)—A title of Pods, Tantis, Mal-Paharias, and several other castes; 893 were censused on tea gardens.

Patwa (1,238)—Makers of silk strings and fringes; 820 were censused in Kamrup.

Phakial (B) (506)—A Shan tribe who migrated to the Lakhimpur district from Mungkong towards the end of the 18th century: the increase in their number since 1901 is probably due to more accurate enumeration.

Poroja (5,861)—A cultivating hill tribe from Vizagapatam Agency, Madras: they were almost all censused on tea gardens in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur.

Rabha (B) (79,022)—See note by Mr. Friend-Pereira at the end of this chapter: I have included Totlas (7,461) in the total.

Rajbansi (B) (133,078)—According to Mr. Gait, the Rajbansi is a Koch or Mech, who has assumed that title on conversion to Hinduism: 128,114 Rajbansis were censused in Goalpara. Like most persons who do not feel quite sure of their position, they are very particular in matters of etiquette, and are keen advocates of infant marriage.

Rajbhar (3,495)—An up-country caste, employed chiefly in the Surma Valley as garden coolies.

Rajput (Chhattri) (27,670)—The military and landholding caste of Northern India, who claim to be the modern representatives of the Kshattriyas.

Rajwar (8,338)—A Dravidian cultivating caste of Behar, Western Bengal and Chota Nagpur. They eat fowls, but not beef and pork, and so claim to rank above the Bauris; 5,077 were censused on gardens.

Rauniar (Nuniar) (108)—A sub-caste of Baniyas in Behar and United Provinces.

Rautia (4,845)—A cultivating caste of Chota Nagpur: 3,674 were enumerated on tea gardens.

Sadgop (1,892)—A cultivating caste of Bengal, which is included in the Nabasakh; their increase since 1901 is due to Goalas returning themselves as Sadgops.

Sahar (149)—An Animistic jungle tribe of Orissa: they were all censused on tea gardens, and all except 5 in Lakhimpur.

Saiyad (A) (14,010)—A branch of the Muhammadan community who claim descent from Ali, son-in-law of Muhammad. They occupy a good position in society, but it is doubtful if all who so returned themselves have a claim to the title.

Saloi (B) (9,334)—A cultivating clean caste of the Brahmaputra Valley, practically confined to Kamrup with a small overflow in Darrang. A subdivision of the caste called the Pat Salois rear the *pat* worm and the ordinary Salois decline on this account to inter-marry with them.

Sannyasi (514)—A general name for religious ascetics.

Santhal (59,008)—A large Dravidian tribe in great request as garden coolies: see paragraph 127 for the apparent decrease in their numbers: 32,449 were censused on tea gardens.

Saraogi (1,103)—A mercantile caste of Upper India, allied to the Oswals and Agarwals. Only 48 were censused in the Surma Valley.

Sarki (577)—The cobbler caste of Nepal.

Sarnakar (S) (776)—The goldsmith caste of Bengal: 547 were censused in the Surma Valley, I have shown them separately from Sonar.

Savar (3,914)—A Dravidian tribe of Orissa, Chota Nagpur, Madras and the Central Provinces; 3,191 were censused on gardens.

Shaha (A) (54,280)—According to Risley a sub-caste of Sunris, who have given up their traditional occupation of selling wine and taken to other professions. They obtained the permission of Government to be shown as Shahas only, but this did not prevent the Sunris from returning themselves also as Shahas, and the result is that I cannot guarantee that liquor-sellers are not included in the total. This agitation was confined to the Surma Valley, where 37,101 of the total were found. In the Brahmaputra Valley the indigenous Shahas are known as Saus. In Sylhet many Shahas enjoy positions of wealth and influence and obtain both bridegrooms and brides from amongst the higher castes, though the latter of course sink to the level of the caste into which they have married: see paragraph 78.

Shan (112)—Found in Lakhimpur: represent Phakials, Naros or Aitons.

Shekh (A) (1,769,666)—The usual title of an Arabian Muhammadan, which has been adopted by the ordinary Muhammadans of the province.

Singpho (454)—A Shan tribe on the Lakhimpur frontier.

Solanemia (B) (121)—A small caste of Bodo origin, who rank above ordinary Kacharis, and are on much on the same level as Rabhas are Sarania Koches. They are only found in Darrang.

Sonar (3,966)—The goldsmith caste of Bihar, now shown separately from Sarnakar; 842 were censused on tea gardens.

Subarnabanik (598)—A mercantile caste of Bengal.

Sudra (S) (118,512)—A generic name for Hindus below the three twice-born castes, but also the name of a distinct caste of domestic servants of the higher castes. The great increase in their number is due to the concealment of the real caste name, such as Kaibartta.

Sunri (2,649)—The liquor-distilling and selling caste, whose position is naturally very low; 2,116 were censused in the Brahmaputra Valley and 478 on tea gardens: see Shaha.

Sunuwar (276)—A cultivating tribe of Nepal.

Surahiya (716)—A boating caste of Behar: the majority were censused in Sylhet.

Sutradhar (S) (15,952)—The carpenter caste of Bengal; they seem to be indigenous in Goalpara and Sylhet.

Synteng (H) (42,145)—The inhabitants of the Jaintia Hills, who are closely allied to the Khasis: see Gurdon's *Khasis*.

Tanti (41,236)—The weaving caste of Bengal and Behar; in the latter their position is low: 30,557 were censused on tea gardens.

Teli (S) (38,757)—The oil-pressing caste who are indigenous in Sylhet, where 28,156 were censused. In Bengal the higher sub-castes of Telis are included in the Nabasakh; but this is not the case in Behar, from which place the 5,749 Telis censused on the tea gardens have probably come.

Telinga (9,131)—A name for Oriya sweepers, but probably they are Madras coolies: 8,478 were enumerated on tea gardens.

Thakuri (627)—A sub-caste of the Nepal Khas.

Tipara (9,740)—The Tiparas are supposed to be a section of the great Bodo tribe. Those censused in Sylhet are probably immigrants from the neighbouring hills or their descendants.

Tiyar (590)—A fishing caste of Bengal.

Tokar (A) (942)—A small agricultural caste of Kamrup and Darrang.

Turaha (796)—A sub-caste of Kahars and Nunias.

Turi (16,501)—A non-Aryan caste of Chota Nagpur, largely employed as coolies in Assam; 12,565 were censused on tea gardens.

Turung (B) (541)—A settlement of Shans in the Sibsagar district, who entered the province about eighty years ago.

Vaisya (B) (3,902)—A caste of Eastern Bengal, claiming to be the modern representatives of the Vaisyas of Manu. In Kamrup there is an indigenous caste of their name, who are cultivators and do not wear the sacred thread: 3,830 were censused in the Brahmaputra Valley, almost all in Kamrup.

War (H) (6,445)—A tribe inhabiting the southern slopes of Khasi and Jaintia Hills: see Gurdon's *Khasis*.

Yakha (153)—A small agricultural caste of Nepal.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

I.—*THE LUSHAIS by Lieutenant-Colonel H. W. G. COLE, I.A., late Superintendent of Lushai Hills.*

General description.

A full note on this tribe by Lieutenant-Colonel J. Shakespear, C.I.E., D.S.O., will be found at page 145 following of the Assam Census Report of 1901. The present note deals only with matters not treated by Colonel Shakespear and with any changes that have taken place in the last ten years. For the purpose of the present census the people have been divided into the following divisions:—

(1) Lushái.	(4) Hmár.	(7) Fan-aí.
(2) Ralté.	(5) Thado.	(8) Lakher.
(3) Paité.	(6) Poí.	(9) Sailó.

The last of these divisions is not, strictly speaking, a clan, but the name of the principal ruling family of chiefs. It is doubtful whether it should have been included, but it will be useful as showing the growth or otherwise of this family and their descendants. The lines between these divisions are rapidly disappearing. It is tolerably certain that, with the exception of the Lakhers, the differences of language that hitherto existed between the Raltes, Paites, Pois, etc., will disappear in the course of the next generation or so, and that the Duhlian dialect of the Lushai language will become universal. As it is, in many Ralte and Poi villages the younger generation can only speak Lushai. This language has been adopted by the missionaries for the numerous educational and religious works that have been printed during the last ten years and all education is through its medium. Apart from the general tendency to drop the less common dialects and languages, which free intercourse following on Pax Brittanica would in any case have produced, the adoption of the one dialect for literary purposes must have the eventual result of its becoming universal. The total absence of caste or anything akin to it is very remarkable, and there are no exogamous groups whatever, beyond the obvious prohibition of the marriage of first cousins. This prohibition does not, however, extend to chiefs, who not uncommonly marry their first cousins, the reason being that the supply of suitable brides is limited. The chiefs, as a rule, marry into their own family, in order to maintain the respect due to high birth. This is markedly the case among the Sailos, but although a Sailo will prefer a Sailo bride, marriages outside the family are not uncommon and the danger of in-breeding is minimised. The woman, whatever her origin, becomes of her husband's family on marriage, and so do the children. It is doubtful whether there is a single pure bred Sailo chief to be found in the hills. Even between the eight other clans marriages are common. In fact, with the single exception of the marriage of first cousins or those standing in nearest relationship, there is no bar whatever to both sexes of Lushais marrying anyone they please. The total absence of caste, the custom of unrestricted inter-marriage, the tendency to adopt one common dialect and the gradual spread of Christianity are all factors at work to dispense the clan ties, already weakened by other influences which it is unnecessary to detail. The one tie that remains is the 'Sakhua' or the domestic sacrificial ceremonies. It is only the members of the same family that are allowed to take part in those rites, and in that the family relies for mutual support and assistance on a maintenance of these ties it is probable that they will continue. There has been no appreciable weakening of these rites or the limitations on the persons allowed collectively to perform them since the last census.

System of cultivation.

All cultivation is by jhuming. The process consists of felling tree or bamboo jungle, preferably the latter, during the month of January to March. When thoroughly dry, the clearance is fired and everything depends on a really good burn. Light rain is desirable after the burn to lay the ash, which may otherwise be blown away in the high winds common in March and April. After the ground has been cleared, sowings take place in May and June. All crops are sown indiscriminately over the whole jhum. The main crops are rice, maize, millet, cotton, cachus, sweet potatoes, cucumbers, melons and pumpkins and various kinds of pulses. Potatoes have recently been introduced with some degree of success, also dhal. The present methods being so primitive, there is a considerable field for agricultural development, and it is probable that the material condition of the people will improve considerably in the course of the next decade. Owing to the encouragement given by Government, about 3 per cent. of the population have adopted wet rice cultivation in the limited areas to which it is suitable. The villages so cultivating are of course permanent. All other villages move periodically as soon as the area available for felling within a radius of 5 miles is exhausted. The first step towards the establishment of a new village is the cutting of the jhums at the new site, and a temporary hut is erected either at or near the jhum. Thus when the time comes for the move, a year's supplies are available near the new village site. This constant moving tends to a very low standard of comfort in household arrangements and produces the unfortunate characteristic of incapacity of continuity of effort. But the system of jhuming, especially in rich bamboo forest, ensures bounteous crops, and I have seen acres of dhan lying ungathered, because the owners had already gathered sufficient for all their requirements. With improvement in communications and the adoption of animal transport, of which there are already indications, it is hoped that such waste may in due course become impossible.

Villages and houses.

There has been a very remarkable decrease in the size of villages since we took possession of the country. Large villages were necessary for self-protection when raids were of common occurrence. The tendency for villages to split up is due to two main causes. The first and most important is the custom, which is referred to in greater detail under the head Chiefs, for every chief's son to establish a separate village as soon as he marries: the second is the necessity of jhuming; the larger the village the greater the distance to the jhums and the more frequent the removal of the village sites. Five to six miles is about the maximum distance that a family can jhum from the village. A village of 1,000 houses, and such villages were not unknown in days gone by, would consume all the available jhuming land in 4 or 5 years within this radius, when a new village would have to be established not nearer than 10 miles distant. On the other hand, a hamlet of 30 houses surrounded by sufficient land for 200 houses can be a permanency. A jhum in bamboo jungle is ready again for clearing in about seven years' time, and thus 30-house villages will always have 7 years' jungle ready for felling. We may therefore expect a further decrease in the size of villages, but, on the other hand, they will become permanent and in course of time this will result in improved dwellings.

System of government and the chiefs.

The whole country is split up among various families of hereditary chiefs, of which the Sailos are by far the most important. Each chief is entirely independent, and the constitution of Lushai society has been fully described by Colonel Shakespear. The decrease in the size of villages has led to an important modification of the custom under which the youngest son inherits his father's village and property. The *raison d'être* of this system of inheritance is that elder sons established villages of their own on their marriage. In order to enable them to do so, a certain number of headmen or Upas and also of the common people were told off to accompany the young chief and form the nucleus of his new village. When all the elder sons had been established in this way, it is not unnatural that the youngest should inherit his father's village and property, and on him rested the responsibility for his mother's support. But while there has been no tendency for chief's families to decrease, the average size of villages has been decreased by half and there are not enough houses to go round among the sons. Indeed, in some cases none of the sons have been able to start a separate village, and it is obvious that under these circumstances inheritance should pass to the eldest son, and this change has been readily accepted by the people.

General appearance of the people.

There has been a remarkable adoption of goods of European manufacture. Every Lushai now possesses an umbrella and nearly all the young men have white shirts. Imported yarns are replacing those locally made. In ladies' fashions there is a tendency to lengthening the petticoat or puanfen to below the knee and to decreasing the size of the opening over one thigh. Unlike many cognate tribes, women are very careful not to show the breasts until after having a child. Imitation necklaces and beads, usually sold by Angami traders, are replacing the genuine articles among the poorer people. The young men show an unfortunate tendency to adopt a burlesque of European costume and the celluloid double collar must have a considerable sale. It need hardly be said that a Lushai youth in a brilliant coloured blazer and straw hat, with riband to match, is a most depressing spectacle, except perhaps in the eyes of the village maidens. The large ear-rings worn by all well-to-do women were formerly always of ivory; imitations of bone and xylonite are now not uncommon: some of the convert women and those married to foreigners abandon their use altogether, but the empty shrivelling hole in the lobe of the ear is not attractive. Baldness among the Sailo chiefs is so common that it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it is produced artificially: no chief will, however, admit this, but I am told that it is produced by pulling out the hair and by the use of ash water. In common with other cognate tribes, the Lushais have very little hair on the face or body. The hair is always carefully oiled with pig's fat and protected in wet weather by helmets of cane and leaves, which are colourable imitations at a short distance of the Cawnpore Tent Club topi. The effect of a number of youths wearing nothing but a loin cloth and this head dress is not a little startling.

In spite of the aversion to washing, skin diseases are comparatively uncommon and disfigurement by pock marks is almost unknown. Beauty in either sex is very uncommon, and when met does not

appear to be appreciated. The women are apprised by their capacity for hard work, and a stout pair of calves outweighs the flashing eye. The solid advantages of an assured position as the wife of a chief or a Government servant usually go for more than any sentimental feelings.

There is a wide variation in skin colouring. I have seen skins almost as fair as those of Southern Europeans and as dark as those of the Dravidian races: the average skin is a light reddish brown. Ninety per cent. of the children show Herr Baelz' blue spots: these are usually found in the hollow of the back just above the posterior; some are quite small, while others extend right across the back of the body. There are marked gradations of colour, from dark indigo mole-like patches to a faint shading of bluish green; there is often a darker spot surrounded by a lighter shading: the spots usually disappear from children over one year of age.

Infant mortality is high, owing to the constant hard work the mothers have to perform. The new born child of a woman dying in child birth was formerly killed and buried with its mother, women being averse to suckling children other than own; such children, it was said, could never grow up healthy. These prejudices are disappearing as the fallacy of the theory is demonstrated. All children appear to be very well nourished. The mother's milk is supplemented by chewed cooked rice, which the mother passes from her own mouth to that of her child.

Although the Lushais are a small race and generally spare, the young men are well made and proportioned and capable of almost incredible feats of endurance covering 30 to 50 miles a day over rough mountain paths usually through dense jungle. On the other hand, they appear to be incapable of carrying heavy loads, and the custom is for two men always to turn out to carry the usual load of 30 seers.

The most remarkable characteristic is the extraordinary intelligence of the race and the capacity for acquiring knowledge. Apart from what is learnt in the schools, considerable numbers learn how to read and write in their own language from some knowledgeable friend in the village. I have received a communication from a chief's daughter written in a way that would do credit to a board school training, and the only instruction she had received was from the village writer, whose knowledge appeared to be even less than her own. In another 20 years I believe that 50 per cent. of the population will be able to read and write in their own language in English character. The language has no written character and is closely allied to Meithei or Manipuri.

Marriage customs.

All marriages are adult, and with few exceptions not earlier than 18 in both sexes. The customs have been fully described by Colonel Shakespear. The unmarried girls have considerable freedom. There are no penalties attaching to intercourse before marriage unless the girl becomes pregnant, or it takes place on the parental bed; the liability in both cases is the same, Rs. 40 or a full-grown mythan. Such misfortunes are no bar to subsequent matrimony. Divorce is very common and there is much looseness in sexual matters. Polygamy is uncommon except among chiefs, who usually have 2 or 3 concubines in addition to the principal wife. Polyandry is unknown. Matrimonial suits form more than half of the disputes that are settled by the chiefs or in our courts. Local custom is hard on the woman, who is regarded as a mere chattel. The children are always considered to be the father's except in cases of flagrant ill-treatment or breach of custom. There is a deplorable tendency to throw off wives who have ceased to find favour, and a man will not hesitate to trump up a false case of adultery in order to provide himself with funds to purchase a new bride. In cases of misconduct on the wife's part the marriage price is returned: it is not paid to the bride, but to her parents and is in reality a deposit to ensure her fidelity. Objections have been raised by persons imperfectly acquainted with local conditions to this payment, but in the present loose state of the marital relations its abolition would result in unchecked promiscuity. Both sexes are very affectionate towards their children, and it is but seldom that one sees a child struck and they rarely cry. But marital affection as we know it is rare and a couple who have lived together happily for years will part in a storm of mutual recrimination without the slightest demonstration of regret: all attempts at reconciliation are futile.

Village life.

The first thing that strikes anyone visiting a Lushai village for the first time is the dirt. I have seen babes being washed, but both sexes are usually filthy until the age for courting. Unmarried youths and maidens are comparatively clean until marriage. In some villages the young men are great dandies and bestow an infinity of care on their hair dressing and ornamentation: they wear snow-white cloths with a broad central bar of scarlet, and their general appearance is distinctly attractive. The younger women, especially near our stations, dress well, but the home-made puanfen or petticoat is being gradually replaced by lengths of imported blue or black cloths. Generally speaking, the women do all the hard work, and from early morn till dusk they get practically no rest: the males, old and young, loaf about the village smoking the inevitable pipe. Both sexes are inveterate smokers from a very early age, and this may account partly for the short stature of the race.

Some attempt is being made to improve village sanitation. In addition to the other village officials, the priest, the blacksmith, and the crier, who receive baskets of rice of varying sizes for their services, there is now a sweeper to every fifty houses, and the village surroundings are cleaner and considerably sweeter in consequence. The water-supplies are fenced and, when possible, selected so that they cannot be contaminated by the village drainage. Houses are constructed about 30 feet apart instead of almost touching each other and the intervening space utilised as a garden. In the few permanent villages fruit trees are grown to a limited extent, and there is a great demand for them. Village conditions have certainly improved in recent years, but there is a long road to travel before they can be brought up to the standard of adjoining districts.

All women are industrious weavers and make excellent cloths with very primitive implements. The different patterns of cloths were formerly strictly adhered to, and no one but a chief could wear a certain kind of blue cloth: another kind could only be worn by persons who had killed 3 or more methna for feasts. These distinctions are disappearing: the penalty of confiscating the cloth of a man who wore a pattern to which he was not entitled does not appear to be still enforced.

Constitution of society.

There is a growing tendency among the people to dispute the authority of the chiefs in spite of every effort on the part of the Government to maintain it. The chiefs, especially the younger ones, are very largely guided by the advice of the upas or mantris, although they are not bound by it. Village disputes are generally equitably decided, but there is an unfortunate proneness to trump up cases against people leaving the village. The chief realises a small fine of Rs. 4 in cases against the public safety, *i.e.*, assault cases and the like, but not in civil complaints. The money is usually expended on his upas. All petty cases are left for decision by the chiefs, who are bound, however, to report at once heinous offences and unnatural or accidental deaths.

The following report by Mr. A. D. Gordon, Assistant Superintendent of Police, the local Superintendent of Census, is reproduced :—

Ceremonies at birth and death.

"During pregnancy two or more sacrifices are performed. The first is called Chhim and is performed in the early stages of pregnancy. It would seem to be a prayer to the gods for children and consists in killing a fowl with a stick. The claws, beak, tongue and tips of the wings are offered to the demons by a priest uttering a chant : the rest is cooked and eaten by the family. The subsequent sacrifices are known as Hri-Chhi and Nuhri : the same rites are enacted, but the idea of these latter sacrifices is to procure the good health of the child and an easy delivery for the mother. The Lushais assert that if the child in the womb moves on the right side of the mother, it is a male, and if on the left side, a female. Abortion is seldom if ever practised. A girl child is welcome because the parents will receive a substantial sum from her husband when she gets married, and this is always considered a source of income to assist the parents in their old age.

During pregnancy the father of the child will not cut open any animal that has been killed or cut off its limbs, for fear his child should be born without those limbs. He believes too that if he takes the flesh of any wild beast found dead, his child will be still-born. If he gives away any article of clothing to a man of a distant village, the child's health will be permanently impaired. The *couvade* is not actually observed among the Lushais, but the father avoids all hard work, as the performance of hard work by the father is considered to be injurious to the child's health. The name is usually given to a child by its grand parents, preferably the maternal grandfather : it is selected after the child is born. The name is generally chosen to recall some achievement of an ancestor, as 'Ralmana,' the capturer of his enemy. No ceremony is performed beyond the general drinking of 'zu '(rice beer). Even still born children are named, because without a name they cannot enter the spirit world.

Directly the child is born, it is licked clean by the old women of the village and then put in a clean cloth and to its mother's breast. There is no ceremony connected with ear-piercing : when the child is about a week old, the parents pierce the ears with a porcupine quill : both sexes have their ears pierced. The lobe of the female ear is gradually enlarged from 10 years onwards, to allow of the wearing of the Bengbe, a large circular piece of clay or ivory worn in this enlarged lobe, sometimes as large as 2½ inches in diameter. An adult who dies without having had his ears pierced has a porcupine quill buried with him. A still-born child or a child dying in infancy is put in an earthen pot and buried in a grave with an egg and a small quantity of rice, mixed with some of its mother's milk. The egg is supposed to roll along in front of the child and show it the way and the rice is food for the way to the spirit world. With adults a sacrifice is always performed, but this is not done in the case of the funeral of an infant.

The husband and the relatives of a woman dying in child birth perform the usual sacrifice to a departed soul, but the rest of that village treat the day as a holiday and put a small green branch on the wall of each house on the outside near the doorpost to keep out the spirit of the dead woman : the child is suckled generally by an aunt if possible. In former times if the child had no aunt to suckle it, the father used to smother the child with the bed clothes and bury the corpse with the mother. The woman is generally brought to bed on the floor near the bed. All the female friends and relations come in to assist. It is optional for the husband to be present : any one who likes can be present. There are no restrictions on food taken before or after child birth.

Five to ten days after the child is born its body is said to be covered with small pimples, its lips become black and its strength decreases. The family then obtain a particular kind of creeping plant called Vawm, which they make into a coil. In the evening everything in the house that has a lid or covering is uncovered, and the child is thrice passed through this coil, which act is supposed to clear the child's skin and restore its strength. After this is finished, the parents go to bed and the pots or other receptacles are covered again by any of the other members of the family. The parents themselves must not replace any of these lids for fear that they might shut up the spirit of the child in them. There are no superstitions in regard to twins. A child is not taken into the open until 3 or 4 days after birth for fear of the evil eye and to protect it from the sun. There do not appear to be any ceremonies of puberty.

The following is a brief description of the belief of the Lushais as to the other world. Pialral or heaven is a desirable place and can only be reached by a class of men known as Thangchhuah (see below). At the entrance of the spiritual world stands one, Pawla, armed with a large bow and arrows. The souls of the departed cannot escape him and with his arrows Pawla wounds the soul so that it swells painfully for three years and the scar remains for another three years, and the soul has to remain in the Mithi khua (*lit*, dead man's village). Pawla cannot shoot a Thangchhuah, who proceeds to Pialral. A child who dies in infancy or is still-born also goes to Pialral, because it pleads with Pawla that given a longer life, it might have attained to the position of Thangchhuah, and therefore Pawla is not entitled to stop it. Once Pialral has been attained, the spirits remain there for ever. The souls of those in Mithi khua, however, are not immortal, but die again and are reborn as butterflies : they then die again and re-appear as dew on the ground : as dew they enter a man's loins and are re-born as human children.

To become a Thangchhuah, it is necessary that a man should have killed one of each of the following beasts in the chase :—an elephant, wild mythan, bear, sambhur, boar, barking deer, a certain black snake and a particular kind of hawk. Thangchhuah may also be obtained in another way, by sacrificing two or three pigs, then a young mythan, then a full-grown male mythan, then a small mythan again and again a full-grown male : after this he must sacrifice three or five mythans at one time. These sacrifices may be spread out over his life : on completing the last sacrifice, he becomes a Khuang-chawi, which is the equivalent of a Thangchhuah. The wife of a Thangchhuah is also entitled to Pialral. The former method of becoming a Thangchhuah is the more respected, and of such as one after death it is said that the snake coils round the antlers of the sambhur and the man sits on the coils of the snake, while the sambhur conveys him to Pialral and the hawk flies over his head to shade him from the rays of the sun. It might be mentioned that certain worldly advantages also accrue to a Thangchhuah : he alone may wear a particular kind of striped cloth and turban and a feather plume : he can build a verandah at the back of his house and make a window in the house : he can also build an additional shelf near the bed.

II.—THE RABHAS by J. E. FRIEND-PEREIRA, Esq., late Subdivisional Officer, Goalpara.

Description of the Rabhas.

The home of the Rabhas is in the narrow strip of jungle country that lies between the northern slopes of the Garo Hills and the Brahmaputra river in the district of Goalpara. In the section dealing with their history and traditions, the question whether the Rabhas are an autochthonous people has been touched on briefly. At the present moment they are found scattered all over the country, generally in little villages of their own, in the midst of Hindus, Muhammadans, Garos, and Kacharis.

In general appearance the Rabhas show all the characteristics of the Mongolian stock : a round face, flat nose, prominent cheek bones, obliquely set eyes, sallow complexion, coarse hair, scanty beard, and well developed lower extremities. The men are not so coarse featured and so heavily built as the Garos. The women are slighter than the Garo women and in their youth are often quite pleasant-looking. The Pati Rabhas, who dwell in the eastern parts, dress like the ordinary Assamese cultivators of the plains. The Rangdania, Maitoria, Dahuria, and Shonga women in the west wear a short kirtle that reaches half-way down to the knee like the Garos, but cover their bosom with a home-made 'kerchief of some dark or striped cotton material. All the women adorn themselves with the usual ornaments worn by the Assamese, such as silver bangles on the wrists, silver necklaces consisting sometimes of rows of coins strung together by a thin silver chain, nose ornaments of gold, often studded with imitation diamonds or rubies, and gold or silver rings for the ears and fingers. The women of the Rangdania section also wear a silver ornament about two inches long and the thickness of a goose quill on the upper portion of the ear. This ornament, called a *bola*, resembles the *penta* of the women of some of the Garo tribes, with whom the Rabhas seem to bear an affinity. It is worn only on certain ceremonial occasions.

All the sections of the Rabhas are nominally Hindus, and unlike the Garos they will not touch the flesh of the cow, which they hold in reverence. But they show an inordinate fondness for the flesh of the pig, and swine are specially fattened for feasts and sacrifices. Goats and fowls too are reared in every house, as they are used for sacrifice as well as for food. The ordinary daily food of the Rabhas, however, consists of boiled rice, sometimes with boiled pulse, and a relish of fish or vegetable curry. Fish forms an important article of their diet and every Rabha house has its various instruments for catching fish. On a favourable day the men gather together from several villages and go long distances to fish in a particular piece of water. Almost every day the women and girls proceed after the mid-day meal to the nearest pool and scoop up with their fishing baskets or bag nets several varieties of small fish from the shallow muddy water. The Rabhas will not touch milk in any shape, because, like all the other tribes of Mongolian origin, they consider it as an excrement. For a people living in the midst of the jungle, where all kinds of game abound, hunting forms an important factor in the lives of the Rabhas. Periodically the men sally forth with strips of strong netting, which they set up in localities where game has been seen, and deer and pig are driven into the meshes and caught and slaughtered. Sometimes a leopard or tiger becomes ensnared and is speared or clubbed to death.

From the old swords and rhinoceros hide shields in the possession of some families it would appear the Rabhas were at some former time a martial race and indulged in warfare. One of their traditions which gives a graphic description of a tribal fight is narrated in the last section of this note. That they offer fine material for our native army is apparent from the fact that they are freely enlisted with the Kacharis in the Gurkha Military Police Battalions and have rendered a good account of themselves in the expeditions on the north-eastern frontier. But the ordinary every-day occupation of the Rabhas is that of a peaceful cultivator of the soil. He is industrious in shaping his rice fields in the stiff alluvial clay formation or in cutting laboriously some eminence into a terraced field. But in the actual process of cultivation of the rice his methods are crude and his work neglectful ; he contents himself with the ploughing of the land and leaves the sowing and the reaping of the crops mostly to the women.

Like all the other Mongoloid tribes the Rabhas are simple and light-hearted. When they have not come in contact with the more civilised races, they are fairly truthful and honest. They are faithful in their marital relations and they make affectionate and often over-indulgent parents. Their only vice or, properly, failing, is their love for *choko* or home-brewed rice beer, enormous quantities of which they consume without a thought of the serious depletion of the rice in the granaries, which forms their supply of food till the next harvest. They are a social and hospitable people and they spend a great deal of their leisure in gossip and amusement. Feasting and drinking form an important part of their social and religious life, and no expense is spared on the ceremonial occasions of rejoicing or worship of the deity.

Language.

The Pati Rabhas have lost their mother tongue and speak the Kamrup dialect of Assamese. The Rangdanias speak a language which is known locally as Rangdania Rabha. It belongs to the Bodo group of languages and bears a striking resemblance to the Atong dialect of the Garo language. This close affinity of the Rangdania and Atong dialects has been noticed by Major Playfair in his Monograph on the Garos. Although language is not a test of race, still when two widely separated people like the Rangdanias and Atongs are found speaking languages that bear a close resemblance to each other, an inference can be drawn that the two tribes lived in contact with each other at some past period of time. This language relationship seems to corrborate the traditions of the Rangdanias and Garos which are related in the last section of this paper. The Maitorias, Dahurias, Shongas, and Koches have also each their own dialect, all of them being, like the Rangdania dialect, members of the Bodo family. An account of the Bodo language will be found in the Linguistic Survey of India, Volume III, Part II, page 56. Some of the gospels have been rendered into Rangdania by a missionary of the American Baptist Mission of the Garo Hills, but no grammar or dictionary has been published as yet.

Social organisation, government, and laws.

The Rabhas have been divided into the following sections : (1) Rangdania, (2) Pati, (3) Maitoria, (4) Koch, (5) Dahuria, (6) Baitlia, (7) Shonga. It is doubtful, however, whether the Koch, Baitlia, and Shonga are really members of the same tribe as the Rangdania, Pati, and Maitoria. The Rangdanias are found in the tract of country between Goalpara and Lakhipur, the seat of the Mechpara zamindars, who are popularly supposed to be of Rabha origin. The Dahurias, who have two sub-sections, live interspersed among the Rangdanias, but have a lower social position. The Patis live in the eastern portion of the country between Goalpara and Gauhati. They are the most advanced section of the tribe, for they have adopted Hindu customs, and they have lost their mother tongue and speak a *patois* of the Assamese language. The Maitorias inhabit the hilly country to the south of Lakhipur. In their habits and customs they resemble the Garos, but they have a status equal to that of the Rangdanias and Patis. The Koches are found in the western and southern flanks of the Garo Hills, the Baitlias in the Kamrup district, and the Shongas in the northern parts of the Goalpara district across the Brahmaputra river. It will be noticed the last three sections live outside of the tract of country which has been designated the home of the Rabhas.

Inter-marriage is allowed between the Rangdanias, Patis and Maitorias. A man of any of these three sections may marry a woman of a lower section on payment of a fine of Rs. 50 to Rs. 80, which is used in providing a feast for the clans-people, who are supposed to have suffered degradation by such a connection. A woman of any one of the higher sections may also marry into a lower section. But in her case she sinks to the level of her husband's class, and she pays no penalty to her clans-people. Inter-marriage with people of another tribe, as Garos or Kacharis or Rajbansis, is allowed on the same terms, a woman sinking to the level of her husband and a man rising to the position of his wife.

Each of the sections consists of several sects or groups of families that trace their descent back to a common ancestor. The following are some of the sects or *barai* of the Rangdanias :—(1) Tengtung, (2) Rungdung, (3) Pam, (4) Pamnung, (5) Churchung, (6) Hadu, (7) Bagu, (8) Bakshok, (9) Chebanga, (10) Gur. Some of the sept names are common to both the Rangdanias and Patis, from which it seems as if they are merely local divisions of the same people. The local conditions have probably formed them into two more or less separate endogamous groups. The *barai* or septs are strictly exogamous groups, because being collections of families they are of the same blood and marriage within the *barai* is absolutely prohibited. Some times two or more *barai* form an exogamous group in themselves, *e.g.*, the Rungdung and the Pam *barai* and the Hadu and the Bagu *barai*, and intermarriage between the kindred *barai* cannot of course take place.

It is an interesting fact that the Rabhas seem to be in a stage of transition from the matriarchal to the patriarchal form of family life. Descent is always traced in the female* line and the children of marriage always belong to the mother's *barai*. But inheritance always goes from father to son, and the ordinary Hindu law prohibiting females from succeeding to property prevails without any modification. That at some remote period of time the matriarchate was in full vigour appears from the story of Dadan in the section of traditions and history, where Dadan, the leader of the people, is really the maternal uncle and natural guardian of Toba Rani, the chieftainess or queen of the tribe. Marriage between paternal cousins is prohibited as among the Khasis, even though the couple are members of two different *barai* ; but a man may marry his father's sister's daughter or his mother's brother's daughter. The latter arrangement is not uncommon when a man having an only daughter and no son adopts his sister's son, to whom he gives the daughter in marriage.

Tribal organisation as a social force among the Rabhas was probably weakened when the people came under the dominion of a foreign king in the plains of Goalpara. The rules governing their domestic affairs are now similar to those observed by the Hindu castes. A group of villages form the unit of administration for ordinary acts of misconduct ; but for serious social offences like consanguineous or incestuous marriages the elders of several units meet together at some convenient centre for deliberation.

Marriage and divorce.

Marriage among the Rabhas is of three kinds :—by purchase, by gift, and by servitude. The ordinary form is by purchase, the bridegroom paying a sum of money (*gaodhan*) † to the bride's parents before the marriage.

* Lieutenant-Colonel Gurdon, C.S.I., Provincial Superintendent of Ethnography, writes :—"It is said by Mr. Pereira that each of the sections of the tribe consists of several septs or groups of families that trace their descent back to a *common ancestor*, but descent is always traced in the female line and the children of a marriage always belong to the mother's *barai* (Garo *machong*). Now the Rangdaniya Rabhas are admittedly connected with the Garo Atongs, so that it is not unlikely that the Rangdaniya Rabhas would trace descent in the same way as the Garos : Major Playfair says Garos trace descent to a common ancestress. I think it that therefore the remark about the *common ancestor* is not strictly accurate."

† Lieutenant-Colonel Gurdon writes :—"I doubt if the Rabhas use the word *gaodhan*, although those who speak Assamese may possibly understand the meaning of it.

The preliminary arrangements are made by the parents or the friends of the contracting parties but sometimes by the couple themselves. The preliminaries settled, the bridegroom's party goes to the house of the bride to fix the date of the marriage. The party provides itself with *dhupchaul*, mustard oil, and vermilion: the *dhupchaul* is offered to the prospective bride and is accepted by her unless she is opposed to the marriage. Her hair is then besmeared with oil, and vermilion is applied to her forehead and a date is fixed for the marriage. This completes the ceremony of betrothal. On the day fixed for the celebration of the marriage, the relations and friends of the bridegroom, both male and female, come to take the bride to her husband's home, and the marriage is performed in the house of the bridegroom when the bride arrives. A pair of fowls is sacrificed and a feast is given to the people with home-brewed *jonga* or *choko* (rice beer). The feasting is the essential and binding portion of the marriage ceremony.

Like the other Mongoloid tribes the Rabhas marry after they reach the age of puberty. But infant marriage is becoming prevalent now, probably in imitation of the Hindus. Remarriage of widows is allowed; but a widow may not marry her late husband's elder brother: she may marry the younger brother, but she is not expected to do so. The marriage ceremony is almost the same as that of her first marriage, and the feasting of the people is the essential and binding portion of the ceremony. Divorce is permitted without any particular ceremony. When it takes place with the consent of both parties, no compensation is paid by each of the parties to the other. If a husband divorces wife against her will, he has to pay her Rs. 20 or Rs. 30 as compensation. A divorcée is at liberty to marry again any one she pleases. Polygamy is allowed if the first wife is childless or incapable of attending to household duties, but it is rarely indulged in.

The Rabhas are divided into endogamous groups and exogamous septs. The horror towards incestuous or consanguineous marriages is very pronounced. But since descent is traced in the female line, a man may marry his maternal uncle's daughter, and among some sections such a marriage takes place when the maternal uncle adopts his nephew as a *ghar jamai* in preference to a stranger.

Birth and initiation ceremonies.

When a woman finds she is pregnant, a sacrifice has to be offered to Bai Ma-bai for the safe delivery of the expected child. No formal ceremony is performed to determine the sex of the unborn child by divination. But it is a popular belief that if the embryo is felt to move on the right side of the womb, the child will be a boy, and if on the left a girl. As there is no custom of hypergamy, the birth of a female child is not considered a calamity, and consequently the practice of causing abortion after finding out by divination that the fœtus is a girl is unknown. There is no trace whatever of the *couvade* among the Rabhas.

Immediately after the birth of the child the midwife cuts the navel string with a piece of sharp bamboo and buries the placenta wrapped up in plantain leaf in the ground. A fortnight or a month after the birth of the child a feast is given and a pig is sacrificed for the name-giving ceremony. This ceremony is the peculiar right of the old woman who acted as midwife and delivered the child and cut the navel string. She crushes some lucky herb in her hand and invokes blessings on the infant that he may have a long and prosperous life, be wise and happy, successful in his cultivation, and so on. The mother of the child selects the name and, very curiously, she is often influenced in her choice of name by some incident in her own life. For instance, if the child is a son, he is named after a rejected lover, and if a daughter after some rival. This custom sometimes leads to quarrels when men become talkative over their cups and rake up old grievances. A purification ceremony has to be performed when the navel string of the child drops. A woman is considered unclean after child birth until the purification ceremony after the navel string has dropped is performed. She does not, however, observe seclusion during this period of time, but she is not allowed to enter the kitchen or cook the food of the family.

There is a belief in the reincarnation of the dead, but no divination is performed in order to discover what relative has returned in the form of the newly born infant. If the child cries when it is scolded or beaten, the idea is that it is a reincarnation of a parent or elder brother or sister.

Death and funeral rites.

The Rabhas cremate the bodies of those who die from natural causes. In the case of a person dying of some epidemic disease or meeting with a violent death, the corpse is buried and not burnt. But any one killed by a tiger is given the benefit of a cremation instead of being disposed of by the lower form of burial. Shortly before the corpse is taken away for cremation, a libation of *choko* or rice beer is offered to the manes of all the *barai* by name, beginning with the Tengtung *barai*. The corpse is then carried to some convenient spot on the outskirts of the village and cremated in the same way as the Hindus cremate their dead. The ashes and fragments of bones are gathered together *in situ* and covered over with an earthen pot. A fence is built round the spot and a small thatched covering is erected over the funeral reliquary. At the four corners of the shed are planted long bamboo poles, on which cloth streamers flutter in the breeze. After the funeral obsequies the people return home and leave the mortal remains of the departed to return to dust by the agency of the elements.

Up to about 25 years ago, before kala-azar swept through the Rabha country and left depopulated villages in its track, the funeral rites of a well-to-do person were performed with great pomp and circumstance. After the cremation of the corpse the frontal bone was raked out of the embers by the son or other close relation and carried on the back, with much ceremonial dancing, to the Tura Hakar of the sept, and there was much feasting and drinking of rice beer; the Tura Hakar was a cave or hole in a rock where the bones and, sometimes also, the arms and accoutrements of the deceased were deposited, and each *barai* or sept had its own separate vault: several of these disused tribal ossuaries are still seen in the northern slopes of the Garo Hills.*

* Lieutenant-Colonel Gurdon writes:—"Major Playfair, whom I consulted, is doubtful about these tribal ossuaries. He says—'I think he (Mr. Pereira) should verify this, for I have never heard of them.' Perhaps the author has seen some of the Garo *asongs* (*cf.* 'The Garos,' pages 96-97), or sacrificial stones on the outskirts of the Garo Hills and has thought them to be cinerania, which they certainly are not. They are either, like the Khasi Memorial stones, mere cenotephs, or else sacrificial stones. Major Playfair says—'The binding on of bones of cremated persons prior to a dance is a well known custom among some sections of the Garos' (*cf.* 'The Garos,' page 112). The Rabhas' use of the bones at funerals is interesting, in confirmation of Major Playfair's statement."

The cremation over, the relations return home and prepare a place in the house, by spreading a male or a female cloth according to the sex of the deceased on the floor, for the purpose of recalling the spirit. Food and drink are placed on the cloth and the spirit is invited to partake of the collation prepared for it. After one or two months the ceremony is repeated, and the disembodied ghost is adjured not to haunt or frighten or harm the members of the family still in this life, or even to think of them, but to depart for good. In the case of wealthy or influential persons about a year after the death, a feast is given with large quantities of home-brewed *choko* or rice beer. After partaking of the feast, the men and women dance, and addressing the spirit of the deceased say "take thou birth again in a noble family of Rabhas; not among the trees or grasses, lest thou perish by fire, nor among the swine or poultry, lest thou be killed and eaten by men, nor among the cattle, for thou shalt have to plough the field, nor among the insects or creeping things, for thou shalt be eaten by birds," and so on.

Religion.

Although they take part in the popular Hindu religious festivals, like the Durga puja and Kali puja, the Rabhas are in reality pure Animists. Even their most Hinduised section, the Pati Rabhas, never represent their hosts of gods and demons by images or pieces of stones or other natural objects. Their deities are pure spirits and are always conceived as such. The following are the principal deities:—

Bai Ma-bai, the creator, conceived as a beneficent and benevolent deity, who does not require constant propitiation. He presides over births. He is worshipped in a clear place near water with the sacrifice of a duck or a goat, but never a fowl or pig.

Bai Kho or *Khoksi Bai*, Ceres or the goddess of crops, who appears to be the principal deity of the Rabhas. Her worship is celebrated with great ceremony once a year in Saon-Bhadro and lasts for seven days, during which there is much feasting and drinking of rice beer. The men go alone with the animals they intend to slaughter and strong-brewed rice beer to the place of sacrifice, and in the evening their womenkind, dressed in their best clothes, meet them returning home with more jars of strong home-brew. The whole night is spent in feasting and drunken revelry. There is a story how the goddess was dissatisfied with her former location with her husband, Tuna Bai, in Athiabari in pargana Habraghat, and how she was removed to her present situation near Darmang Hill at a place where three hills—Darmang, Sipu and Saleng—meet and where two streams, the Danrai and Chidrai, unite their waters to form the Rongsai river. Sacrifices of big, fat gelded pigs are offered, so that there may be plentiful crops, copious rains, good health, and no earthquakes. Sometimes a second and smaller ceremony of worship is performed for a special object, as seasonable rainfall after a bad season. A big, heavy pig is sacrificed, so that there may be a big heavy crop at the time of harvest. The worship of the goddess is in the hands of the four leading *barai*, namely, the Rungdung, who prepare the feast, the Pam, who offer the incense and other delectable articles, the Pamnang, who supply the things required for worship, and the Churchung, who beat the *daidi* or small gongs of bell-metal.

There is another Bai Kho in Bamandanga in pargana Mechpara; she is said to be the younger sister of Bai Kho of Darmang and was driven away by the latter when she became a *daini* or witch. She is worshipped only by the Dahuri section.

Hasang Bai, tutelary deity of the village, who keeps away cholera, small-pox, and other epidemic diseases. She is worshipped in a convenient place in front of the village, and the sacrifice offered is a pig or 2 or 3 fowls.

Darmang Bai, the god of health and wealth, who is popularly supposed to reside on Darmang Hill. At the time of the marriage feast, when a pig is slaughtered, the first offering is always made to Darmang Bai in front of the house. A huge gelded pig is the proper sacrifice when the god is worshipped.

Bera Hatchu Bai, the protector of domestic animals. A goat or a red fowl or a bunch of plantains is the usual sacrifice offered. The place of sacrifice is in front of the house.

Langa Chara Bai is worshipped by the whole village together, at a little distance in front of the village, with the sacrifice of a fowl, to protect the villagers from sudden death.

Hai Mairong Bai is worshipped by a householder at a spot close the dwelling house with a sacrifice of 12 fowls, 1 goat and 2 jars of rice beer, to keep him free from bodily infirmities, as lameness, deafness, etc.

Kama Hatchu Bai is offered a pig or fowl as sacrifice to cure the leprosy. Two men take part in the ceremony; one pours out the libation of rice beer and the other sacrifices the victim at a place near the dwelling house of the person afflicted.

Mairang Bai is supposed to dwell on the Mairang Hill. A fowl or a pig is offered in sacrifice to cure epilepsy. The deity is generally worshipped with the other deities that have their abode on the hills, that is, Khoksi, Dakunang, Saleng, Sipu and others.

Khisam Bai is offered a sacrifice of a fowl to cure night blindness or sore eyes. The sacrifice is performed after the shades of evening have deepened into night, in the verandah of the house, and no rice beer is offered as libation.

Bira Bai is propitiated to prevent him from inflicting a sudden madness and carrying one off to the top of a hill or a tree or throwing one down and killing one. A white fowl alone is sacrificed to the deity. Two men go into the jungles at dead of night to make the sacrifice, and one of them carries a sword which he holds out behind his back to prevent the demon from coming on them unawares.

Achka Bai, goddess of the water, is worshipped, when a child sickens and wastes away, with a sacrifice of a pig and two fowls. This sacrifice is offered always within the house by a stranger, but the maternal uncle must take a part in the ceremony and play the cymbals.

Budabha Bai is the deity that looks after the household property. A pig is sacrificed at a little distance away from the house.

Tekar Bai, a demon, supposed to be produced from a human being, requires a sacrifice of a fowl or a pig in case of fever or pain in the stomach. If a fowl is offered, the sacrifice is performed inside the house, otherwise outside the house.

Biswali Bai, a Hindu deity; a fowl is offered as sacrifice in some out-of-the-way place when a person suffers from pain in the knee joints.

Singra Bai, a Garo deity; a fowl is sacrificed on the road to cure fever.

Laikos Bai, the Hindu Rakshas, a demon, is propitiated in the jungles a little distance from the house, because he is prone to eat people alive. A goat or a pig or, sometimes, even a cow is offered as sacrifice. After the great earthquake of 1897 the Rabhas of certain villages sacrificed a cow to the demon and observed great secrecy, not to offend the Hindu zamindars of Mechpara.

Khelaram Bai, a Hindu deity; a he-goat is sacrificed with music and singing, and a general holiday is observed, when the first fruits are gathered.

Kali Bai, the Hindu goddess Kali, is worshipped with the sacrifice of a he-goat.

Mashi Lakshmi Bai, the Hindu goddess Lakshmi, is worshipped with the sacrifice of two pigs in the cultivated fields.

In cases of illness or other calamities or when events show the deities are displeased, the Ojha or sooth-sayer is consulted. The Ojha carries out a process of divination by putting two grains of paddy in a cup of water which he stirs and allows to settle. If the two grains adhere to each other, the deity that presides over the particular department is offended and must be appeased with sacrifice.

Traditions and history.

The Rangdania Rabhas have a tradition that at an earlier period in their history they dwelt in the Garo Hills, and that after many conflicts with the Garo tribes they were finally driven down to the plains which they now occupy. They say the cradle of their race was in Sumsang, which is the Garo name for the modern Someshwari river and the valley it waters before its descent into pargana Shushang in the district of Mymensingh. There is a quaint legend which relates that the Atongs (a section of the Garos) are the kinsmen of the Rangdanias, both of them being descendants of two sisters Sae Bonge and Bonge Kate. The elder sister married a Garo and was the mother of the Atong clan. But the younger one had a liason with her own brother, and the guilty couple being driven away by their people became the progenitors of the Rangdania Rabhas. The counterpart of the tradition among the Garos is to the effect that when Husheng was chief of the powerful Atong clan, he brought the Rabhas into the Someshwari valley to till the land, because at that time the Garos, being nomads, were not acquainted with the more settled methods of husbandry. Afterwards, when the Brahmin minister of Husheng treacherously slew his master and seized the supreme power, a period of bloodshed and anarchy followed and the Rabhas were driven out of the valley. There appears to be some elements of truth in these traditions. The Atongs speak a dialect of Garo that has a closer affinity to the Rangdania language than to the other Garo dialects spoken in the hills that separate the Atongs on the south from the Rangdania on the north. The affinity of language between these two widely separated people substantiates the story that at some time in their history they lived in contact with each other. The Maharaja of Shushang Durgapur in the district of Mymensingh is a Brahmin nobleman who even now claims an ancient right to collect tribute from the Garos of the Someshwari valley. There can be no doubt that the Garo tradition refers to an ancestor of this Brahmin house.

The following tradition, which was taken down word for word as it was related by an old woman of the priestly family of the Rungdung *barai*, contains in itself sufficient proof of the matriarchate having been in existence among the Rangdania Rabhas before they become a subject to the zamindars of Mechpara and Habraghat parganas :—

Toba Rani was the niece of Dadan. Her daughter was Nodai. Nodai married Maru Khetri, a hero, whose mother was Lema Nakkini Kumurini: they assumed the sovereignty of the State. As they possessed enormous wealth, they collected no taxes from the people of their own tribe or of other tribes that were the subjects of their kingdom. All the neighbouring kings became envious of their immense wealth, and at last Kasi Raja, a king of the distant plains, sent two emissaries, Basuri and Pasuri, to Maru Khetri with a sinister motive. These two emissaries had a consultation between themselves about Dadan, and they said "Let us walk proudly like men of other tribes and see whether they remain unmoved: disguised as vendors of betel leaves and arecanuts, we shall approach Dadan, and then he will be killed brutally and his body will be covered with blood." Saying this, they laughed maliciously. They proceeded on their way with the speed of lightning. And they met Nodai on the road and they accosted her without letting her know who they were. Then displaying false friendship towards her, they said: 'dear sister, lead us to your uncle Dadan, to whom we wish to sell our betel leaves and arecanuts.' When they appeared before Dadan, there being a large number of buyers, the whole stock of arecanuts was not sufficient to give one nut to each buyer. Then they making false homage to Dadan, said 'dear uncle, our whole stock has been sold out and nothing remains to be sold to you'; then they added 'there is a rumour that Kasi Raja has come to know that you realise no tax from your indigenous as well as your foreign subjects, and that you pass your time in great happiness, in the midst of all comforts in the way of eating and drinking, waking and sleeping on a bed as soft and as white as the froth of newly-drawn milk; and you reign a king of immense wealth. We have come to know that he is likely to come and fight with you on Sunday or Monday. Do you possess courage, manliness, and sufficient strength to meet him?' Dadan replied 'what shall I do? I shall have to perish with all my family.' Saying this, he wept and sent for all his relations and friends: they all came and asked him (saying), 'Uncle, what is the matter with you?' Dadan replied: 'Kasi Raja is coming against me, and I am not able to withstand him'; then they replying said: 'your great valour and strength in arms will stand as a barrier of timber, and your soldiers will spread through the enemy like kites and will destroy them to a man.' Dadan said: 'My dear kinsmen, brothers and sisters, the enemy has surrounded me on all sides, and I am unable to proceed any further.' Saying this, Dadan called his niece Nodai and said 'proceed with your husband, Maru Khetri, taking bows and arrows in your hand, and with your great valour fall upon the enemy as speedily as kites.' Then Maru Khetri took his bow, shield, sword and arrows in his hands and proceeded to the valley of Sipansila, where he met the enemy. He took aim at Kasi Raja and said 'let us see whether you or I will be the first to show the strength of arms.' On seeing Maru Khetri, Kasi Raja said contemptuously 'dost thou think thou will be able to stand as a barricade of timber?' As soon as he said this, Maru Khetri discharged an arrow which pierced Kasi Raja through the knee. Then Kasi Raja fell to the ground and died of the wound he had received, and his two emissaries began to lament loudly. Thus being victorious, Maru Khetri returned home in triumph.

Like many other people of a primitive stock, the Rabhas have a story of a serpent god. The legend, as it prevails among the Rangdanias, is to the effect that in ancient times, when they were an independent people, there dwelt in a cave a monster serpent. Nothing could appease the wrath of the python, not even offerings of silver and gold. Accordingly once every year the people went with solemn ceremony to the cave and offered a sacrifice of a boy and a girl to propitiate the deity.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Castes classified according to their traditional occupations.

Group and caste.	Strength (000's omitted).	Group and caste.	Strength (000's omitted).
1	2	1	2
1. LANDHOLDERS	41	11. BARDS AND ASTROLOGERS ...	21
	5·7		*3·0*
Rajput (Chhatri)	28	Grahabipra (Ganak)	21
Others	13		
		12. WRITERS	82
2. CULTIVATORS (INCLUDING GROWERS OF SPECIAL PRODUCTS).	1,341		*11·6*
	190·0	Kayastha	82
Ahom	197		
Barui	25	13. MUSICIANS, SINGERS, DANCERS, MIMES AND JUGGLERS.	24
Bhar	14		*3·4*
Bhuiya (Bhuinhar)	67		
Boria	22	14. TRADERS AND PEDLARS ...	79
Chutiya	89		*11·2*
Gond (Gonr)	51	Shaha (Sau)	54
Kaibartta Chasi (Mahishya) ...	65	Others	25
Kalita	222		
Kewat	95	16. BARBERS	40
Koch	212		*5·6*
Kurmi	25	Napit	37
Mali or Malakar	14	Others (Hajjam)	3
Rajbansi	133		
Others	80	17. WASHERMEN	34
			4·8
3. LABOURERS	76	Dhoba or Dhobi	34
	10·7		
Bauri	44	18. WEAVERS, CARDERS AND DYERS ...	244
Musahar	14		*34·6*
Others	18	Jogi	169
		Pan (Panika)	18
4. FOREST AND HILL TRIBES ...	1,896	Tanti	41
	268·6	Others	16
Bhumij	39		
Garo	144	19 TAILORS	2
Ghasi	15		*0·3*
Kachari	230		
Khasi	121	20. CARPENTERS	17
Kshattriya (Manipuri)	251		*2·4*
Kuki	77	Sutradhar	16
Lalung	39	Others	1
Loi	18		
Lushai	81	22. POTTERS	44
Mech	95		*6·3*
Mikir	105	Hira	16
Miri	58	Kumhar	28
Munda	91		
Naga	220	24. BLACKSMITHS	57
Oraon	29		*8·1*
Rabha	79	Kamar	43
Santal	59	Others	14
Synteng	42		
Others	103	25. GOLD AND SILVERSMITHS ...	5
			0·7
5. GRAZIERS AND DAIRY MEN ...	63		
	8·9	26. BRASS AND COPPER SMITHS ...	2
Goala	42		*0·3*
Others	21	27. CONFECTIONERS AND GRAIN PARCHERS...	18
			2·5
6. FISHERMEN, BOAT-MEN AND PALKI-BEARERS.	548		
	77·6	28. OIL PRESSERS	41
Kaibartta	21		*5·8*
Kaibartta (Jaliya)	45	Teli or Tili	39
Mahimal	78	Others	2
Malo	20		
Nadiyal	68	29. TODDY DRAWERS AND DISTILLERS ...	12
Namasudra	173		*1·7*
Patni	111		
Others	32	31. LEATHER WORKERS	68
			9·7
7. HUNTERS AND FOWLERS	7	Chamar	54
	1·0	Others	14
8. PRIESTS AND DEVOTEES	144		
	20·5	32. BASKET-MAKERS AND MAT-MAKERS ...	51
Brahman	126		*7·3*
Others	18	Dom	30
		Turi	17
10. GENEOLOGISTS	1	Others	4
	0·1		

N.B.—The figures italicised below the group totals show the proportion per mille of the total population represented by the group.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I—*concluded.*

Group and caste.	Strength (000's omitted).	Group and caste.	Strength (000's omitted).
1	2	1	2
33. EARTH, SALT, ETC., WORKERS AND QUARRIERS.	19 *2·6*	36. SWEEPERS	42 *6·0*
Nuniya	15	Bhuinmali	35
Others	4	Others	7
34. DOMESTIC SERVANTS	119 *16·8*	37. OTHERS	1,912 *270·8*
Sudra	119	Indian Christian	64
		Shekh	1,770
35. VILLAGE WATCHMEN AND MENIALS ...	10 *1·4*	Others	78

N.B.—The figures italicised below the group totals show the proportion per mille of the total population represented by the group.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Variation in caste, tribe, etc., since 1871.

Caste, tribe or race.	Persons (000's omitted).					Percentage of variation—increase + , decrease —.				
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1871.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	1871-1881.	Percentage of net variation, 1871-1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Ahom	197	178	154	179	129	+10·9	+15·9	—14·4	+39·0	+53·1
Barui	25	18	23	4	16	+36·1	—18·1	+409·8	—71·8	+59·9
Bauri	44	42	32	10	1	+3·5	+32·1	+224·3	+765·1	+3,735·3
Bhar	14	13	6	...	...	+7·6	+107·6	...	...	...
Bhuinmali	35	42	51	...	2	—16·5	—17·2	...	...	+1,675·2
Bhuiya	67	50	32	5	3	+34·7	+53·8	+516·8	+59·6	+1,939·3
Bhumij	39	34	21	25	1	+12·9	+66·0	—18·9	+2,408·8	+3,713·0
Boria	22	19	23	20	11	+10·8	—13·8	+10·1	+90·3	+100·3
Brahman	126	109	97	119	106	+15·1	+12·8	—18·5	+12·4	+19·0
Chamar	54	44	18	...	7	+24·2	+144·3	+1,996·0	—87·5	+693·6
Chutiya	89	86	88	60	51	+3·1	—1·7	+45·6	+16·9	+72·5
Dhoba (Dhobi)	34	34	38	35	30	+·7	—11·5	+7·9	+16·0	+11·5
Dom*	31	See Nadiyal.								
Garo	144	128	120	112	15	+12·7	+6·9	+6·8	+637·7	+849·9
Ghasi	15	13	9	...	...	+18·8	+38·7	..	...	...
Goala	42	38	31	13	11	+10·3	+23·1	+138·8	+20·8	+291·9
Gond (Gonr)	52	4	4	...	...	+1,055·3	+24·2	...	...	...
Grahabipra (Ganak) ...	21	21	24	24	...	+4·6	—13·5	—0·7	...	...
Hira	16	9	10	...	...	+87·9	—13·5	...	...	...
Indian Christian	64	34	15	5	1	+90·0	+127·7	+170·2	+322·4	+4,837·1
Jogi (Jugi)	169	161	178	173	162	+4·9	—9·3	+2·9	+6·5	+4·3
Kachari	230	240	243	286	219	—4·1	—1·4	—15·0	+30·5	+4·9
Kaibartta (total) ...	131	209	211	140	222	—37·2	—0·9	+51·1	—37·2	—41·0
„ Chasi (Mahishya) ...	65	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
„ Jaliya	45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kalita	222	203	223	254	179	+9·3	—8·8	—12·3	+41·8	+23·9
Kamar	43	34	30	12	8	+28·3	+13·8	+153·4	+44·7	+435·2
Kayastha	82	87	92	186	106	—5·7	—5·9	—50·2	+75·7	—22·4

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II—*concluded.*

Variation in caste, tribe, etc., since 1871.

Caste, tribe or race.	Persons (000's omitted).					Percentage of variation—increase +, decrease —.				
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1871.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	1871-1881.	Percentage—net variation, 1871-1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Kewat	95	64	91	104	31	+47·7	—29·6	—12·6	+233·1	+202·8
Khasi	121	112	120	107	95	+8·3	—7·3	+12·1	+13·5	+27·8
Kshattriya (Manipuri) ...	251	231	72	40	35	+8·6	+222·3	+76·9	+16·1	+619·5
Koch	242	223	261	250	313	+8·5	—14·4	+4·3	—20·2	—22·7
Kuki (Total)... ...	77	56	19	11	8	+38·3	+197·1	+73·8	+29·9	+827·5
Kumhar	28	27	25	18	36	+4·1	+5·3	+41·0	—49·4	—21·8
Kurmi	25	21	13	13	8	+17·9	+65·3	+0·4	+63·4	+219·7
Lalung	39	36	52	48	35	+10·4	—32·3	+10·0	+36·7	+12·5
Loi	18	4	...	...	...	+402·2	...	...	...	...
Lushai (Total) ...	80	78	...	...	...	+2·5	+30,141·2	...	...	...
Mahimal	77	37	58	...	...	+111·7	—37·1	...	...	...
Malakar (Mali) ...	14	8	1	49	39	+80·9	+646·7	—97·8	+23·6	—63·8
Malo (Jhalo) ...	20	19	20	1	...	+9·6	—7·5	+1,257·8	...	...
Mech	95	75	70	58	30	+26·3	+6·7	+21·3	+93·2	+215·8
Mikir	105	87	95	78	60	+20·3	—7·9	+21·9	+30·0	+75·7
Miri	58	47	37	26	14	+23·7	+24·8	+46·0	+84·2	+315·3
Munda	91	81	46	19	...	+13·1	+74·5	+149·2	...	...
Musahar	14	17	17	4	...	—14·9	+0·7	+332·8	...	...
Nadiyal*	68									
Dom*	31	195	205	208	179	+7·8	—4·9	—1·4	+16·0	+17·1
Patni*	111									
Naga (Total)	220	162	102	105	56	+35·9	+58·6	—2·5	+86·7	+292·6
Namasudra	173	170	181	174	155	+1·9	—6·1	+4·0	+12·0	+11·5
Napit	37	32	33	31	29	+14·1	—2·1	+5·6	+7·2	+26·5
Nuniya	14	17	7	2	...	—14·8	+141·0	+213·7	...	...
Oraon	29	24	18	...	...	+19·8	+34·5	...	...	+13,382·5
Pan (Panika) ...	18	8	20	...	...	+128·4	—60·9	...	...	...
Patni*	111	See Nadiyal		80	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rabha (including Totla) ...	79	74	76	59	61	+6·2	—2·2	+28·8	—3·1	+29·8
Rajbansi	133	120	124	106	...	+10·8	—2·9	+16·3	+183,306·9	+229,344·8
Rajput (Chattri) ...	27	22	8	11	7	+25·5	+171·6	—24·3	+59·7	+312·1
Santhal	59	78	23	7	...	—24·0	+234·5	+213·9	+933·1	+8,141·3
Shaha	54	51	52	57	...	+6·1	—1·7	—9·4	...	...
Shekh	1,770	1,494	1,382	...	...	+18·5	+8·1	...	...	+476,898·9
Sudra	119	46	7	...	9	+155·9	+555·1	...	...	+1,253·6
Sutradhar	16	17	17	14	27	—8·3	+4·2	+15·5	—46·2	—40·7
Synteng	42	48	52	48	41	—12·1	—7·4	+8·2	+15·9	+2·2
Tanti	41	22	11	7	4	+89·9	+97·4	+68·4	+72·9	+928·3
Teli (Tili)	39	39	36	20	23	—0·1	+8·9	+75·9	—12·9	+66·7
Turi	17	12	8	...	...	+32·9	+50·7	...	...	+12,892·9

* Separate figures are not available for { (1) Dom in 1872-1881, (2) Nadiyal in 1872-1901, (3) Patni in 1872, 1891, and 1901.

FOOT-NOTE TO SUBSIDIARY TABLE II TO CHAPTER XI.

Dhoba, 1901 and 1891, includes Dhobi.

Bhuiya, 1901, includes Bhuinhar.

Chamar, 1872, includes Muchi and Kural.

Chutiya, 1901, includes Deori.

Jugi, 1881, includes Katani.

Kachari, 1881 and 1872, includes Sarania.

Kaibartta, 1901, includes Halwa Das (1891 and 1881), Mahishya Vaishya (Kewat), Das and Sudra Das.

„ 1872, includes Jaliya.

Khasi, 1891 and 1881, includes Dyko and Lyngam.

Koch, 1901, 1891 and 1881, includes Mahalia.

„ 1891, includes Khyen.

„ 1881, includes Madahi.

Kshattriya (Manipuri), 1901, 1891 and 1872, includes Khatri.

Lushai, 1901, includes Poi.

Nadiyal, 1901, 1891, 1881 and 1872, includes Dom and Patni.

Rabha, 1901, 1891 and 1881, includes Totla.

Rajbansi, 1901, includes Paliya.

Rajput, 1901, 1891, 1881 and 1872, includes Chattri.

OF THE ASIATIC

CHAPTER XII.

OCCUPATION.

130. The statistics concerning occupation are contained in Imperial Tables XV and XVI. The former is divided into four parts, of which—

Statistical tables.

A shows the details (i) in a provincial summary and separately for British territory and Manipur State and (ii) for each district ;

B gives the subsidiary occupations of agriculturists, who are divided into (i) rent-receivers (landlords), (ii) rent-payers (actual cultivators) and (iii) farm servants and field labourers ;

D shows the distribution of occupations by religion ;

E gives the statistics of the industrial census, which was independent of, and in addition to, the ordinary census, in four parts—(i) provincial summary, (ii) distribution by districts, (iii) race and caste of owners of factories, etc., (iv) race and caste of manager of factories, etc.

Part C, which was to show for certain mixed occupations the number of persons who returned each as their principal or subsidiary means of livelihood, was compiled, but the number of persons actually included was so small that the results were of no importance. The XVI shows the occupations of selected castes, tribes, or races and has an appendix showing the reverse, *i.e.*, the castes which follow particular occupations, including the castes of inmates of jails at the time of the census.

Attached to this chapter are ten subsidiary tables, which will be referred to in detail below : it need only be mentioned here that Subsidiary Table X shows the special statistics collected for employés in railways, post offices and telegraphs, which are, like the special industrial statistics mentioned above, independent of the ordinary census figures.

131. Before we go on to consider the results contained in the statistical tables, it is necessary to note that the present scheme of classification of occupations is new. It is based on that drawn up by M. Bertillon and recommended for general adoption by the International Statistical Institute in order to facilitate a comparison of the occupation statistics of different countries. The reasons for changing the scheme hitherto used in India are that (i) the Indian scheme was too elaborate, containing no less than 520 groups, while the entries in the schedules are not sufficiently precise to secure accuracy of distribution into such minute divisions, (ii) M. Bertillon's scheme is simple and elastic and can easily be adapted to Indian requirements, and (iii) without it we are deprived of the advantage of a comparison with other countries. The main objection to a change is that we run the risk of being unable to discover the differences in the conditions of the present and past censuses ; but, as it is possible to re-arrange most of the statistics of the previous census on the lines of the new scheme, this objection was not considered strong enough to outweigh the obvious advantages of the new scheme. Hence the Census Commissioner decided, after consulting the Provincial Superintendents of Census, to adopt M. Bertillon's classification with such slight modifications as were necessary to suit local conditions.

New scheme of classification. (1) Description.

M. Bertillon divides all occupations into 4 main classes, 12 sub-classes, and 61 orders, which are further distributed into 206 sub-orders and 499 groups ; but for international comparison it is necessary only to divide into 61 orders, minor heads being adapted to local requirements, provided that the occupations returned are properly classified under these orders. The eventual result of following this scheme in

India is that we have now 4 classes, 12 sub-classes, 55 orders, and only 169 groups in comparison with 520 groups at the last census: the classes and sub-classes are as follows:—

A.—Production of raw materials	...	I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth. II.—Extraction of minerals.
B.—Preparation and supply of material substances.		III.—Industry. IV.—Transport. V.—Trade.
C.—Public administration and liberal arts	...	VI.—Public force. VII.—Public administration. VIII.—Professions and liberal arts. IX.—Persons living on their income.
D.—Miscellaneous ...		X.—Domestic service. XI.—Insufficiently-described occupations. XII.—Unproductive.

There are some differences regarding the orders under which groups are classed between M. Bertillon's scheme and that now adopted for India, which are given herewith: it will be noted that they are slight and unimportant, except the first:—

(1) Non-cultivating agricultural landowners are shown here under order Pasture and Agriculture, which is included in sub-class I, while M. Bertillon shows them under his order 54—Persons living principally on their incomes, sub-class IX. This was done because (i) in India landholders who cultivate themselves and those who sublet to others are not mutually exclusive, and (ii) it is most important to know how many persons are dependent on agriculture, directly or indirectly.

(2) In Bertillon's scheme carpenters are put in his order 16—Building industries, while sawyers, boxmakers, wood-turners, etc., are included in order 9—Wood, but in India it is impossible to separate these occupations and they are all classed under Wood.

(3) In India dealers in cattle are more appropriately included under Trade in means of transport than in Other trade in food stuffs, as in Bertillon's scheme.

(4) In the latter magistrates of all kinds come under order 50—Law in sub-class VIII, while in India they must come under Public Administration, sub-class VII.

132. The reduction from 520 groups to 169, which has thus been made possible, would have been greater still, but that some of the old Indian groups had to be subdivided in order to preserve the distinction made between Industry and Trade: persons who make an article are classed under Industry, whether they sell direct to the consumer or through a middleman, but those who sell only and do not make come under Trade. In order thoroughly to grasp the present scheme, it is desirable to understand the general principles underlying the classification of occupations as returned, which are exemplified herewith:—

(ii) Main principles.

(1) Where a person both makes and sells, he is classed as a maker: similarly, when a person extracts sulphur, etc., from the ground and also refines, he is shown under Extraction of minerals.

(2) Industrial and trading occupations are divided according to—

(*a*) the material worked in,

(*b*) the use which they serve.

Generally makers or sellers of articles the use of which is not finally determined come under (*a*), which also includes certain articles that cannot be placed under (*b*), *e.g.*, shoemakers come under the latter, but makers of waterbags, leather portmanteaux, etc., are included in the former. In the few cases where the material used is more characteristic of the occupation than the article, the classification is according to the former, *e.g.*, the makers of *jhampis*, bamboo and leaf hats or umbrellas, are shown under order 8—Wood, in the group for basket makers and other industries of woody material, including leaves: in the same group are included makers of bamboo stools or *muras* and of *ras* for looms, etc.

(3) Employés in railway carriage factories are included, under order 22—Transport by rail, in railway employés of all kinds other than construction coolies, because in India such factories are worked direct by the railways: they are not shown under order 16—Construction of means of transport.

(4) Railway police and railway doctors come under order 44—Police and order 48—Medicine respectively, because their duty is concerned with these orders: the fact that they are paid by the railway is mere accident, which does not affect the nature of their work.

Generally, when an occupation involves special training, *e.g.*, that of a doctor, engineer, or surveyor, it comes under the group reserved for that occupation, except when it implies further specialisation, *e.g.*, a marine engineer and a river surveyor come under order 20—Transport by water, the former in the group for ship-owners and their employés, and the latter in the group for persons employed on the maintenance of streams, rivers, and canals. Similarly, under order 45—Public Administration, are shown only such Government servants as are engaged in general administration, including judicial, but members of the medical, veterinary, post-office and other similar departments are classed under the heads of their occupations. The main point to look to is the actual occupation, and not the source of income or the ultimate object which the occupation serves. Persons temporarily out of employment are shown under the occupation previously followed by them.

(iii) What the tables show.

133. Having grasped the principles underlying the classification of occupation as returned, we must understand how the statistics are represented in the tables. Table XV-A classes persons according to their *principal* occupations and shows also the number who are partly dependent on agriculture. Table XV-B shows the subsidiary occupations of agriculturist. Table XV-E, which is based on the special industrial census, is different from the other parts of the Table in looking to the industry and not the actual occupation of the individual, *e.g.*, an engineer on a tea garden is included with tea-garden employés.

Accuracy of the figures.

134. Errors may arise at the time of enumeration or during compilation. The instructions for filling up the schedules were precise, and there is no doubt that ratio of accuracy is much higher when the entries are made by trained enumerators, as in India, than when the householders themselves fill up the columns. In previous Indian censuses mistakes have been made by the enumerators mainly in (1) confusing the traditional and the actual occupation and (2) using vague terms such as service, clerk, contractor, shopkeeper, etc. In Assam there are not many cases of real traditional occupations, and this source of error is reduced to a minimum : the second kind of mistake will never be entirely avoided, but I believe that it is diminished progressively at each successive census. There remains the question as to how far the enumerators correctly distinguished between workers and dependents. The rule in the Code runs as follows :—

Only those women and children will be shown as workers who help to augment the family income. A woman who looks after her house and cooks the food is not a worker, but a dependent. But a woman who collects and sells firewood or cowdung is thereby adding to the family income, and should be shown as a worker. So also a woman who regularly assists her husband in his work (*e.g.*, the wife of a potter who fetches the clay from which he makes his pots), but not one who merely renders a little occasional help. A boy who sometimes looks after his father's cattle is a dependent, but one who is a regular cowherd should be recorded as such in column 9. Boys at school or college should be entered as dependents. Dependents on a joint family the members of which follow different avocations should be entered in column 11 under the occupation of the principal working member. Care must be taken in making entries in column 11 to ensure that the occupation of the person who actually supports the dependent is correctly given. A person temporarily visiting the house in which he or she is enumerated may not necessarily be dependent on the head of that house ; the correct occupation of the actual worker on whom such person depends must be ascertained. Domestic servants must be entered as cook, *bhisti*, etc., in column 9, and not in column 11 as dependents on their master's occupation.

I have referred in detail in the Administrative volume of this report to the criticisms on the above instructions : the main difficulty from our present point of view arose in case of adult sons of cultivators and wives who helped in cultivation. The instructions were cultivators should be shown as payers of revenue or rent (*kar* or *khazana*) in temporarily-settled and permanently-settled districts, respectively : the enumerator could quite understand that the grown-up son in such cases was a cultivator, but he could not see why either the son or the wife should be shown as paying revenue or rent, when it was the father who did this. Every effort was made to remove this mental difficulty, which was discovered at the very beginning, and enumerators were allowed to write 'cultivates land' with the addition of 'rent' or 'revenue-payer' in brackets ; the result is, I think, that agricultural workers and dependents were, on the whole, pretty clearly divided : but in Naga Hills, owing to a mistake in the orders issued from my office, which unfortunately was not discovered until compilation had begun, adult women were to be shown as dependents, though the Deputy Commissioner subsequently reported that, in his opinion, almost all women and all children above 12 to 15 should be shown as workers.

Errors in compilation arise from careless copying and sorting, misposting of entries in the sorting tickets and compilation registers, and wrong classification. Taking them all round, the occupation entries in the slips were wonderfully precise and in many

cases quite long, so that there was little chance of error on this head. I am also satisfied that the sorting was well and carefully done, as it was very early discovered that the only way to ensure accuracy was to insist on a separate sorting for every individual entry, however similar numbers of them were, in fact or in appearance; so far was this carried in the Gauhati office, where most of the Assam slips were sorted, that the following entries, which all mean begging, were distinguished—*magi khai, khuji khai, bhiksha britti, maganiya* and *bhikshari:* I should not claim as great accuracy for the returns of Sylhet, Cachar, and Lushai Hills, which were sorted in the central office at Chittagong, but I am satisfied that the work was very carefully done. In compiling there were two stages: first, the group numbers were entered by a special staff on the sorters' tickets; then, after these were passed as correct, totals of each group were worked out on classification sheets, of which there was one for each ticket; finally, when these were checked and passed, the entries were posted in compilation registers for each district. Special efforts were made to ensure a proper check at each of these stages, and in the Gauhati office the Deputy Superintendent himself checked again every classification sheet after the work had been passed in the ordinary course. During the progress of classification all doubtful entries were referred to me, and the orders passed were communicated to the other central offices: if the entry was vague and might give rise to different interpretations according to locality, the District Officers were consulted. I think that this work, on the whole, is as accurate as it could be anywhere.

The simplification of the scheme was, of course, a great help and in itself should be sufficient to ensure greater accuracy than in 1901, when an attempt was made to distinguish between workers in factories and workers at home and between superior and inferior staffs. But there were still difficulties regarding mixed occupations which might be included in two groups and also those which, though very similar, have been differentiated in order to comply with Bertillon's scheme, *e.g.*, labourers on roads and railways. For example, I placed settlement establishments, supervisor kanungos, and mauzadars in group 3—Agents, etc., of landed estates, clerks, rent-collectors, etc., because their main object is the correct assessment and collection of land revenue, but it was difficult to know where to place mandals, and, in view of the fact that in the rest of India they are regarded as village officials, I placed them in group 147. Butterfly-collectors wereincluded in group 8; pipers in group 130 because they exist here only in the Gurkha regiments; employés in rubber plantations went into group 7, if they were under the Forest Department, and into group 5, if they were private; a steamer laskar belonged to group 95, but a laskar in Garo Hills to group 147; a *saodagar*, who strictly is only a merchant, is a dealer in elephants in Assam. *Monohari* shopkeepers I placed in group 132, and those selling what was described as *gelamal* went under groups 117 and 135 according to the District Officers' reports. There were a number of rather strange entries, such as thief, story-teller (Manipur), and *morabotola* or vagrants in Kachari villages who steal utensils from graves, while one was reminded of earthquakes by a seismograph clerk and of our recent progress by the appearance of motor-car mechanics.

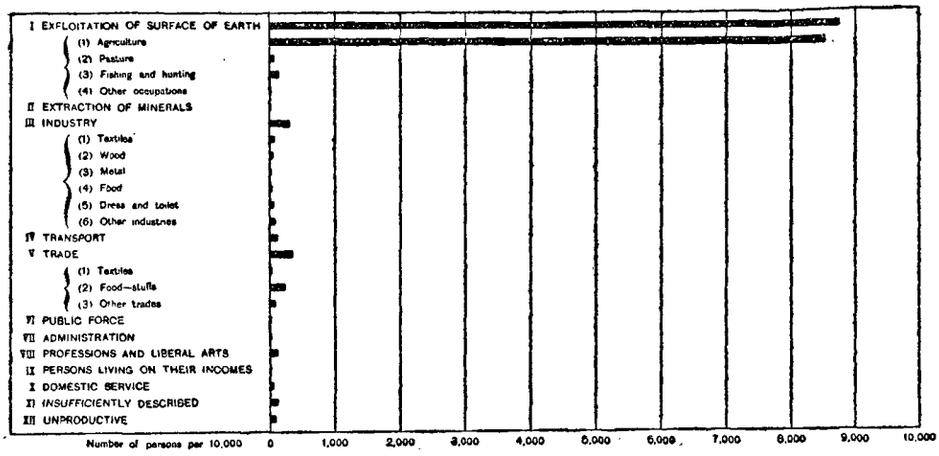
Finally, it must not be forgotten that our returns refer to the conditions in existence on a single day, which would affect the statistics of seasonal occupations such as jute-pressing; but Assam is not much affected in this way because factories are few, and though tea manufacture had not begun in March, the full number of coolies were employed on the gardens.

General distribution of occupations

135. We have already seen in paragraph 18 that the urban population of Assam is extremely small, amounting to 30 only per 1,000; consequently it is no matter of surprise to find that the great majority of the people are dependent on agriculture. Subsidiary Table I shows that out of 10,000 of the population no less than 8,761 come under the first class—Production of raw materials, of whom 8,752 are engaged in exploitation of the surface of the earth; of the latter 8,609 are supported by pasture and agriculture and 143 by fishing and hunting. Over 75 per cent. of the people are dependent on ordinary cultivation, nearly 10 per cent. on the growing of special products, of which tea is practically the sole representative, 67 in 10,000 raise farm stock and 6 are dependent on forestry: the addition of 9, the proportion who extract minerals, makes up the total of the first class. The remaining 1,239 of each 10,000 of the population are distributed between the other three classes as follows:—Preparation and supply of material substances—762, Public administration and liberal arts—184, and Miscellaneous—293.

The diagram in the margin shows the means of support of 10,000 persons in the province by sub-classes and certain important groups. Agriculture, pure and simple, including the growing of special products, accounts for 8,536 persons. Extraction of minerals is confined to the coal mines of Lakhimpur and to the lime quarries on the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills. Industry absorbs a little over 3 per cent. of the population: textiles are apparently the most important, but the figures are exaggerated now, as in 1901, by the fact that large numbers of women in Manipur State have been shown as working weavers (*vide* group 22 in Table XV-A), though the real fact is that they weave as good housewives, and not for sale. Industries of dress and toilet loom large, but they include washermen and barbers, shoemakers and tailors, and hence on examination are not so important as they seem at first sight. Wood is the next important industry, as might be expected in a province with extensive areas under forest, which give employment to large numbers of sawyers; basket-makers and makers of articles partly wood and partly leaves, such as *jhampis*, and of mats are included. There is a large drop to food industries, which include rice-pounders, bakers, grain-parchers, and sweetmeat makers—the ordinary population of any bazar. Transport includes water, road, rail, post office, and telegraphs, but supports only 109 out of 10,000. The proportion shown under Trade is higher than that under any other sub-class, but no less than 234 persons out of a total of 346 sell food stuffs, of which much the most important are sellers of fish, who are followed by grocers and sellers of oil, salt, etc., by dealers in grain and by sellers of betel-leaf, areca-nut, vegetables, etc.; while dealers in piece-goods form the majority of the textile traders. The rest of the sub-classes are not very important. Professions and liberal arts were returned by 132 persons in every 10,000 and are represented by priests, lawyers, medical practitioners of all sorts, teachers and a few miscellaneous and unimportant occupations. The proportion of occupations insufficiently described is 138, and includes such general terms as unspecified contractors, shopkeepers, clerks, mechanics, and labourers. Lastly, the unproductive form 1 per cent. of the community and consist of inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals, beggars, vagrants and prostitutes.

ASSAM—DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS



Distribution by locality.

136. Subsidiary Table II shows the distribution of 1,000 persons in each natural division according to the occupations by which they are supported. Beginning with the first-class, production of raw materials, we see that the Brahmaputra Valley is most dependent on this source and is followed in order by the Surma Valley and the Hills. A cursory examination of the sub-class figures will show that the Surma Valley excels generally in industry, trade, and the professions; the apparent pre-eminence of the Hills in industry is due to deceptive returns of the makers of textiles in Manipur State, as has been explained above.

Taking first ordinary agriculture, we find the lowest proportion in the Brahmaputra Valley; but an examination of the detailed groups will show that it contains a much higher proportion of ordinary cultivators than the Surma Valley, where landlords and farm labourers account for considerable numbers: the Hills has the highest proportion of tillers of the soil. In special products the predominance of tea in the Brahmaputra Valley accounts for 137 persons in 10,000, but that it is a most important source of livelihood in the Surma Valley is shown by the fact that the proportion supported by it is as much as two-thirds of that in the other valley: the only competitor with tea is the growing of oranges, betel-leaves, areca-nuts and bay leaves in the Khasi Hills. The existence of large areas of pasture in the Hills and the Brahmaputra Valley accounts for the comparatively high proportion of herdsmen in these two

divisions, while the wide expanses of water in the Surma Valley produce there the largest number of fishermen.

Coming to the next class, we see that the Surma Valley really stands first in industry and trade, and it owes this superiority to the high proportion under the heads (1) wood and (2) industries of dress and toilet. The latter is easily accounted for by the large number of washermen, barbers, etc., but the former is at first sight surprising when we consider the large areas of forest in the Brahmaputra Valley. A further examination of the statistics will show that the sawyers, carpenters, etc., of the Surma Valley are local people and have large numbers of dependents, while in the Brahmaputra Valley, though the workers are only slighter fewer, their dependents are only about half the number of those in the Surma Valley—a result which points to their being foreigners, which we already know to be a fact, Nepal supplying most of the labour force of the Forest Department. The Surma Valley probably contains a much larger number of carpenters as distinguished from sawyers; but the mat-making industry of the Surma Valley, from which the well-known *sitalpati* comes, goes much more to swell the high proportion under the head "wood." In transport the Brahmaputra Valley stands first: this is probably due to the fact that there are long distances by road from the main means of communication, the Brahmaputra and the railway, to the tea gardens, which depend also on road transport for a considerable portion of their food supplies: whereas in the Surma Valley the tea gardens are within easy distances by boat of the steamer or railway stations; but in any case transport by boat employs fewer men than transport by bullock cart. The Surma Valley is again first in trade, but, as explained, the majority of those supported come under trade in food stuffs, of which fish-selling in Sylhet accounts for a very high proportion, there being in this district no less than 32,172 dependents to 8,759 male and 2,121 female workers under this head: the grocers, etc., of the Surma Valley are, like the sawyers, etc., local people, while the small number of dependents proves them to be foreigners in the Brahmaputra Valley. On the other hand, sellers of milk, butter, ghee, etc., are much more numerous in the latter, but most of them are Nepalis, while sellers of areca-nut and betel-leaf are much more numerous in the Surma Valley. It is curious that the Hills should be pre-eminent for trade of textiles, but the high proportion is due to the large number of women shown under this head in Manipur. I find that while the number of female cotton weavers in Manipur has risen from 17,758 in 1901 to 35,890 in 1911, female dealers in piece-goods and cotton textiles have grown from 994 to 2,508. I am not sure whether this growth is real or due to more accurate enumeration, but as the gentler is the business sex in Manipur, it is not improbable the number of saleswomen is now more approximately correct.

The high proportion under public administration and liberal arts in the Surma Valley is due to the large number of the followers of the professions, as indicated above: this is the result of the great development there of the caste system, which implies more priests, of the existence of more purely functional high castes, of more advanced education, and of the need for a large number of lawyers amongst the population of an extensive permanently-settled district like Sylhet. That the public force is strongest in the Hills is a matter of no surprise, because they contain nearly the whole military strength of the province, including the battalions of Military Police, but that the proportion of those supported by liberal arts and professions should be greater than that in the Brahmaputra Valley is curious. On a detailed examination it will appear that this accounted for (1) by those returned under group 158—Architects, surveyors, engineers, and their employés in the Khasi Hills, where the Survey Offices, Provincial and Imperial, at Shillong, are represented, and (2) by the large number shown in Manipur under group 151—Temple, burial, or burning ground service, pilgrim conductors, etc. The Political Agent explains that since the Raja's installation temple services have increased greatly, and the increase in prosperity and in facilities of travel has made pilgrimages very popular: in 1901 there were only 254 workers and 298 dependents under the latter head against 1,223 workers and 1,845 dependents now. There is not much to say about the last class—Miscellaneous. It is perhaps only natural to find the Hills first in insufficiently described occupations: the proportions of those supported by domestic service are the same in both valleys, which agree also in their share of the unproductive, who are more than five times as numerous as they are among the more unsophisticated population of the Hills.

Agriculture.

137. Subsidiary Table III shows the distribution of the agricultural population by districts, Table IV shows, by natural divisions, occupations combined with agriculture, where the latter is the subsidiary source of subsistence, and Table V shows for the province occupations combined with agriculture, where the latter is the principal occupation.

In the province as a whole no less than 854 persons per mille are supported by agriculture : this proportion refers to those who have returned agriculture as their principal source of livelihood : if we add half of those who combine it with other occupations and the estimated number of their dependents, the proportion rises to 871 : in 1901 the total number of the partial agriculturists was added, but if we make the same calculation as now, the proportion then was 849. This is a very large increase in ten years, but it is extremely probable that when agriculture is combined with some other means of livelihood, it is returned as the principal occupation not because it always is so, but because it is considered the more respectable. Indeed the increase now appearing may be due to other occupations becoming more common, with the result that agriculture is returned by more people, because its stability and respectability in comparison with other occupations are more obvious. The Brahmaputra Valley stands first with 877 and the Surma Valley last with 832 per mille primarily dependent on this source. The proportion in the Hills would have been much higher but for the comparatively low figures returned from Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Manipur : in the former the population of Shillong has an exaggerated effect on the total population, and the district contains keen traders as well as limestone quarriers : in Manipur we have already noticed the large numbers of women returned as weavers and sellers of textiles, while the priestly class are the cause of a high proportion under professions. In the plains Sibsagar stands first with no less than 916 per mille dependent on agriculture, and it is followed by Nowgong with 911 : Cachar, including North Cachar Hills, comes next and then Darrang, Lakhimpur, Goalpara, Kamrup and Sylhet. A glance through the remaining heads of Subsidiary Table III will show the causes of this order : a low position under the head agriculture implies a high proportion under industry, commerce, or the professions. Nowgong is remarkable in being so dependent on agriculture, though it is not a large tea district : it will be noted that the agricultural proportion is high where there are tea gardens.

Turning to Subsidiary Table IV, we find that, in the province as a whole, of those who follow principal occupations other than agriculture, only 35 per mille have shown agriculture as their subsidiary source of income : the highest proportion is in the Surma Valley, where it is natural, as pressure on the soil and education forces a small proportion of local people into other walks of life ; the figures of the Brahmaputra Valley and the Hills would seem to follow from the fact that those who are not dependent on agriculture are people almost completely divorced from the soil and are probably strangers driven to distant places for a livelihood. Indeed for the reason that agriculture is regarded as the most respectable occupation, we may infer that the statistics of Subsidiary Table IV are below the truth, but the proportions are so low that it seems hardly worth while to go into them in detail. It may, however, be noted that the highest proportions of those who have returned agriculture as a subsidiary occupation is found in group 3—Agents, managers of landed estates, etc. In the Brahmaputra Valley 104 and in the Surma Valley 85 per mille of the workers in tea gardens have cultivation of their own : this, of course, excludes the colonists who depend mainly on agriculture and look to the tea gardens to help to make ends meet. The figures of class B, which includes industry, transport, and trade, is a confirmation of our previous inference that the workers under these three heads are local people in the Surma Valley and landless strangers in the Brahmaputra Valley, while in the Hills it is only transport that supports a large proportion of the sons of the soil. The same results accrue from a consideration of the other two classes, but public administration shows a comparatively high proportion of partial agriculturists in the Brahmaputra Valley.

Subsidiary Table V shows the proportional figures derived from Table XV-B and divides the active agricultural population into (1) landlords, (2) cultivators, and (3) farm servants and field labourers. It is remarkable that out of those who returned themselves as rent-receivers, over 38 per cent. pay rent to others : the majority of the remainder are also traders, priests, or money-lenders. Out of 10,000 cultivators 2,386 have to labour for hire to eke out a livelihood, but we may be sure that a very large proportion, if not all, of these are foreigners : of the rest 1,779 are also traders and 1,098 fishermen or boatmen. Lastly, among farm servants and field labourers no less than almost 23 per cent. are also general labourers, which points to their being temporary immigrants, 18 per cent. are rent-payers, 10 per cent. are fishermen and boatmen, while 158 out of 10,000 claim to be receivers of rent, but, as the rent is subsidiary to their hire as labourers, we may assume that it is more a tradition than a reality.

Comparison with 1901.

138. Subsidiary Table VII contrasts our present statistics with those of the last census, and as there are no difficulties in comparing the agricultural groups of the present scheme with those of 1901, we have no need to resort to approximations. The number of those dependent on ordinary cultivation shows an increase of 17·5 per cent.: rent-receivers have apparently grown by 160 per cent., ordinary cultivators by 16 per cent., agents, etc., of landed estates by 145 per cent., while farm servants and field labourers have decreased by 8 per cent. In special cultivation there is an increase of 11·3 per cent., which is made up of 7·2 per cent. in employés on tea plantations and nearly 2,000 per cent. in fruit, flower, and vegetable, etc., growers: it may be stated at once that the latter enormous rise is due to the more accurate enumeration in 1911 of the orange, betel and bay leaf and areca-nut growers of the Khasi Hills. Of the remaining increases noted above, the increase in agents, etc., of landed estates is no doubt due to my method of classifying under this head mauzadars, supervisor kanungos, etc., as explained at the end of paragraph 134 above: the others do not call for much comment, as they agree with the general growth of population and the statistics of the employés on tea gardens are fairly well confirmed by the immigration statistics, which show an increase of 10·8 per cent. in the number of coolies employed in tea gardens and in the mines and oil-wells of Lakhimpur. The apparent decrease in those returned as farm servants and field labourers is, I think, due to more accurate enumeration; for example, it is improbable that there were 27,850 female field labourers in Goalpara in 1901. But the large growth in rent-receivers deserves more detailed consideration.

139. Paragraph 209 of the last Census Report discussed the progress of tenancy; the figures in the margin contrast the growth within the last ten years. It should be premised that in the 1901 statistics I have included proportional figures of cultivators unspecified as returned in that year in order to compare like with like. The increase in the number of rent-payers in every district except Nowgong is remarkable, but I am not sure that the whole growth is real outside the temporarily-settled districts: indeed I have omitted Goalpara altogether, because in the instructions originally issued no provision was made for separating the revenue-payers from the rent-payers in that district, perhaps because it is a debatable question whether the raiyats of Bijni and Sidli Duars are revenue-payers and the population of the rest of the temporarily-settled area is insignificant: in 1901, however, no less than 72,488 persons, including dependents, were shown as cultivating landholders, *i.e.*, revenue-payers in Goalpara. Mr. Allen discounted in 1901 the value of the figures of the Surma Valley, but I can guarantee that in the temporarily-settled districts in 1911 a very clear distinction was made between those who pay for their land direct to Government and those who pay to some intermediate rent-receiver. Leaving aside the question whether the percentage of increase in the Surma Valley is real, it is very remarkable that in a raiyatwari tract like Cachar out of 269,864 ordinary cultivators and their dependents no less than 140,988 persons should live on land for which rent is paid to an intermediary: in 1901 there were 80,256 rent-payers out of a total of 238,336 cultivators excluding the few unspecified, so that we can at least assume that a very large proportion of the Cachar raiyats sublet their land. I do not claim absolute accuracy for the 1911 figures of Cachar, because I cannot guarantee a very high standard of accuracy in the compilation, which was done at Chittagong, but the results of two censuses seem to point to the conclusion that the system which prevails in the Surma Valley of allowing the settlement of a large area of waste at low rates within the raiyat's holding is not conducive to the maintenance of a really raiyatwari tenure. Coming to the Brahmaputra Valley, the 1911 figures of which I can guarantee to be reliable, we find a very notable expansion in tenancy in the three large tea districts, Darrang, Sibsagar, and Lakhimpur corresponding to similar increases in 1901. The explanation then given holds good in the main yet: the coolie who wishes to start on his own cannot, at the beginning at least, go far from the garden on which he works, because without his wages he has nothing to fall back on; hence he is forced to take land on rent, usually from an indigenous cultivator. Subsidiary Table IV shows that nearly 10 per cent. of the coolies working in tea gardens returned agriculture as their subsidiary occupation: I have already referred to the details of either valley. I am not, however, prepared to accept the

Tenants (rent-payers).

—	1911.	1901.	+ or — per cent.
TOTAL (excluding Goalpara).	2,113,883	1,422,602	+ 48·6
Cachar ...	140,988	80,643	+ 74·8
Sylhet ...	1,731,581	1,173 239	+ 47·6
Kamrup ...	126,901	119,047	+ 6·6
Darrang ...	39,987	16,481	+ 142·6
Nowgong ...	5,016	5,601	— 10·4
Sibsagar ...	49,024	21,494	+ 128·1
Lakhimpur ...	20,386	6,097	+ 234·3

rest of Mr. Allen's explanation, *i.e.*, that the Assamese after leasing his land moves further afield and takes up new land for his own cultivation. It is true that the report from Lakhimpur regarding the trekking of the Assamese further away from coolie settlements (*vide* paragraph 30, page 18) would seem to confirm this view, but the real cause of this movement, which is peculiar to Dibrugarh subdivision, as given by the Deputy Commissioner, is entirely different. Moreover, though Mr. Allen's statement seems to have been the source of inspiration of a recent theory for colonising the waste lands of the Valley, the inherent laziness of the Assamese raiyat or his neglect of material advantages, which is due to the fewness of his wants, would seem to throw grave doubts on it. In my opinion the fact is that the coolie has to amass sufficient capital to warrant his taking up waste land, and he becomes first a sub-tenant near the garden on which he works to expedite the process of accumulation and perhaps to gain practical experience of the soil and crops, for it must not be forgotten that the coolies are strangers in a strange land : when he is rich and experienced enough, he leaves the garden altogether and becomes a colonist on waste land. I have seen this process at work in Darrang district on a fairly large scale. The growth in sub-tenancy in the tea districts is not, in my opinion, an unmixed evil : it is a step on the way to colonisation very much oftener than permanent infeudation. In my own experience I found in Darrang an incipient Marwari zamindari which originated with the indebtedness of the ex-coolie cultivators, and it is not improbable that speculators have taken up land in Lakhimpur with a view to settle it with tenants. But on the whole, until most of the waste is put under cultivation, I am inclined to think that sub-tenancy is a temporary and necessary evil for the average coolie who has the ambition to exchange the garden hoe for his own ploughshare.

Mining and Industry.

140. In Subsidiary Table III mines are included with industry, but Tables I and II show them separately : we have already seen that only 9 persons in 10,000 are dependent on the extraction of minerals, and Table XV-A shows that they were censused in the coal mines and petroleum wells of Lakhimpur and near the limestone quarries on the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills. The details that go to make up the sub-class industry have been referred to already. In Subsidiary Table III Manipur State is an easy first with 142 per mille supported apparently by industry including mines, but we have seen that this high proportion is not real. Khasi and Jaintia Hills comes next with 38 per mille, but the largest number of persons were returned under food industries, in which out of a total of 2,704 no less than 2,394 were brewers and distillers, consisting of 151 males, 1,273 females, and 970 dependents : the next large item is under wood, which supports 1,311 persons, of whom 975 were sawyers and carpenters and their dependents : thirdly, come industries of luxury, etc., which account for 1,203 persons, of whom 798 were supported by the Secretariat printing press and the Survey offices at Shillong : the last two worth mentioning are industries of dress and toilet, represented by 1,015 persons, of whom 827 were dependent on tailoring, and textile industries, of which out of a total of 784 no less than 777, mostly women, were shown as cotton spinners : the net result is that if distilling is excluded, the apparent industrial activity of the district disappears. The third district is Sylhet, which is closely followed by Kamrup and Lakhimpur : the latter owes its position in Subsidiary Table III to the coal mines and oil wells and may be left out of account : but it should be noted from Subsidiary Table VII that the number of employés in the coal and oil industries has more than doubled within the last ten years. In Sylhet basket and mat-making account for 11,940 persons out of 21,687 under wood, and the rest are practically restricted to 9,747 sawyers and carpenters ; next come industries of dress and toilet, accounting for 19,964, of whom over 10,000 are barbers and over 6,000 washermen ; they are followed by food industries, which are represented by 9,507 rice-pounders, of whom two-thirds are women, out of a total of 10,670 : textile industries appear next, there being 7,369 cotton spinners out of a total of 8,329 : curiously enough, no less than 6,445 persons are supported by work in precious stones, imitation jewellery, etc., and so industries of luxury take next place : the last three orders of industry of any account are ceramics, represented by 5,594 potters, metals, principally 4,745 workers in iron, and building, which supports 4,423 persons. In Kamrup potters stand first, workers in brass second, workers in precious stones, etc., third, and textile workers, mostly female cotton spinners, fourth. The statistics of the remaining districts are not worth examining.

The present statistics of industry are compared with those of 1901 in Subsidiary Table VII : there is a total increase of 8·2 per cent. : most of the large percentages of discrepancy refer to small figures and are of no account, but, taken all round, point to greater accuracy at the present census, as, for example, in the decrease in the

number of rice-pounders and grain-parchers, who are mostly women and of whom the former probably husk paddy for domestic consumption.

Before leaving the subject of industry, reference should be made to the special industrial census, the results of which are shown in Table XV-E. This table is divided into four parts showing (1) provincial summary, (2) distribution by districts, (3) particulars of ownership, and (4) race and caste of managers. For the purposes of this census factories included tea and other special products: the minimum limit was the employment of 20 hands on the census day. The number of such industrial centres is shown according to class in the margin. It will be seen that tea plantations are nearly 94 per cent. of the total and give employment to no less than 493,483 workers; Table XV-A shows 468,655 workers, who are primarily dependent on tea plantations, and the difference is accounted for by those persons who returned tea as their secondary source of livelihood. The great majority of the tea plantations show more than 400 employés and more than 75 per cent. are worked by mechanical power. The other special products are rubber, represented by the Government plantation at Charduar in Darrang, and sugarcane, which is confined to Sibsagar. Mines and collieries are only 8 in number and employ 3,879 workers according to the industrial census, while the figure in Table XV-A, excluding Khasi Hills, in which the standard number of employés was not reached, is only 6 less, and may be taken as a proof of the accuracy of our figures: the one copper mine of the province is a small undertaking in Manipur State. Textile industries are represented by four sisal factories, all situated in Sylhet, of which only one employs over 400 coolies: they are in the hands of tea planters. Wood industries consist of one carpentry works and ten saw-mills, of which five are in Lakhimpur and all make tea-boxes. Metal industries represent two engineering workshops, of which that in Sylhet belongs to the river steamer companies and the other to Government. Under the head of glass and earthenware there was only one brick factory in the province, situated in Lakhimpur. Industries connected with chemical products consist of four mustard oil mills, which are situated in Kamrup, Nowgong, and Lakhimpur. The Government distillery at Jorhat is the sole representative of food industries. Under construction of means of transport come the five railway workshops at Badarpur, Tezpur, Lumding, Jorhat and Dibrugarh. Finally, the Secretariat Press and the Drawing Office at Shillong complete the total under industries of luxury.

TOTAL	650
Special produce ...	612
(*Tea*	*609*)
Mines and oil wells ...	8
Textiles	4
Wood	11
Metals	2
Glass and earthenware	1
Chemical products ...	4
Food	1
Construction of means of transport ...	5
Industries of luxury ...	2

The classification of persons employed is interesting in showing what a large share Indians take (1) in the direction, supervision, and clerical work, and (2) amongst the skilled workmen. Under (1) come 805 Europeans and Anglo-Indians, including 3 females, and 4,513 Indians, including 54 females; it may be noted that females in superior employ are found only in tea plantations, which account for 752 Europeans and Anglo-Indians and 4,310 Indians. Under (2) come 187 Europeans and Anglo-Indians and 7,070 Indians, including 260 Indian females on tea gardens. Outside the latter Europeans and Anglo-Indians as managers, etc., are strongest in the mines and saw-mills, and as skilled workmen in the railway workshops. The statistics of race in the ownership and management are shown in Parts II and III of Table XV-E for tea, coal, and oil mills. Out of 609 tea plantations 506 are owned by companies and 103 private owners: of the former 494 have European or Anglo-Indian directors and 12 have Indian directors, while of the latter 55 are owned by Europeans and Anglo-Indians and 48 by Indians: all the coal mines and three out of four oil mills are owned by companies with European or Anglo-Indian directors. The latter races are predominant in the management also: only 73 tea plantations and the whole four oil mills are managed by Indians.

Transport.

141. We have already discussed the statistics of transport so far as its main distribution is concerned. The total number dependent on this means of livelihood shows an increase of 10 per cent. since the last census. Transport by water now supports over 74 per cent. more than in 1901, the increase being due to the number returned as boat-owners, etc., having been almost doubled: the number now returned in Sylhet is practically responsible for the whole of this growth and is presumably due to more correct enumeration. Transport by road has grown by over 51 per cent. and the increase is probably partly due to a real growth and partly to greater accuracy in the return. Transport by rail shows a decrease of 55 per cent. mainly owing to the disappearance since 1901 of the large construction staff from the railway through the hills of North Cachar. Employés in the Post Office and Telegraphs and their dependents have increased by 41 per cent.

In Subsidiary Table X are given the statistics compiled from the special returns of employés on the census day supplied by the Railways, Post Office, and Telegraphs. In this table we find 9,213 persons, including 156 Europeans and Anglo-Indians, shown as directly employed by railways: Census Table XV-A shows 9,099 workers on railways, and we may infer that our statistics are accurate, as we have to allow for only 114 railway employés who return some other source of livelihood as their principal occupation. The total number employed by railways, directly and indirectly, is 18,633, including 157 Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The Post Office employed 1,896, of whom 6 were Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and the corresponding figures for the Telegraph Department are 711 and 38: the total employés of both departments according to the special return is 2,507, while in Table XV-A we find 2,332 persons who so returned their principal occupation. On the railways Europeans and Anglo-Indians monopolise all the posts of superior officers and two-thirds of the subordinate posts on pay above Rs. 75 per month: the rest of the employés are overwhelmingly Indian. In the Post Office Indians are predominant in every branch; in the Telegraphs seven out of eight administrative and three-fifths of the signalling posts are held by Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and the rest are filled by Indians.

Commerce.

142. We find in Subsidiary Table III that 45 per mille of the population are dependent on commerce and that the proportion so shown in the Hills is exaggerated by the returns of Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Manipur: in the former the most important is trade in food stuffs, of which the principal is the sale of groceries, oil and salt and of vegetables and fruit, while in the latter female dealers in piece-goods are responsible for the high proportion. In the plains Sylhet and Kamrup are practically equal and are followed by Goalpara: the remaining districts are very much below these three, in which the most important item is trade in food stuffs. In Sylhet trade in fish is responsible for more than half the number under this head, less than one-fourth are grocers, sellers of oil, salt, etc., and less than one-seventh sell betel-leaves, areca-nuts and vegetables. In Kamrup more than half the total of the order represents grain and pulse dealers, about one-fifth traders in fish, less than one-fifth grocers, etc., while sellers of milk, ghee, etc., account for over one-tenth. Goalpara is similar to Kamrup except in the number of grain dealers, who in the former are less than one-fourth of the total of traders in food stuffs.

Since the last census the number supported by trade has apparently declined by 1·2 per cent. Looking down the details in Subsidiary Table VII, we see that most of the large percentages of differences relate to small numbers. It is difficult to separate the sellers from the producers in the 1901 statistics, but if we confine ourselves to the main heads, we shall find that the discrepancies are not large. We have already seen that the large growth in trade in textiles is due to the increased number returned under this head in Manipur. Trade in skins, etc., shows an increase of over 57 per cent.; though the figure given for 1901 is approximate, if we combine the present groups 32 and 109 so as to compare them with the group for sellers and workers of hides, etc., in 1901, we find an increase of 50 per cent., which shows that there has been a large expansion in this business, part of which may be attributed to more accurate enumeration. Traders in pottery have declined by over 45 per cent. while potters have increased by 31·3 per cent, though the groups of 1901 are identical with our present groups: some portion of the difference is probably due to a change in the actual returns from sellers to makers, and for this reason our present return is probably more correct, because most potters make and sell their wares, as is clear from the actual numbers returned at the last census and at this: if we add together the makers and sellers, we find a total increase of about 6 per cent. There is a small decline in the number shown under trade in food stuffs, which is mainly due to fewer people returning themselves as fish-dealers, no doubt because this occupation is not considered respectable. The large decrease in trade in hardware, etc., has arisen most probably from differences in the actual returns in the schedules, for there is no need here to estimate the 1901 figures. On the other hand, there is an enormous increase in trade in articles of luxury. On the whole, I think we can claim greater accuracy at the present census, for there is a very large actual and proportional decrease in unspecified shopkeepers since 1901.

The professions and public administration.

143. We have already seen that the Surma Valley stands first in the professions, and Subsidiary Table III shows that the result is due to the high proportion who have returned some occupation coming under sub-class VIII as their principal source of income in Sylhet. The figure for Manipur is equally high on account of the large

number of persons returned under temple service, while the Khasi Hills owes its comparatively large proportion to the headquarters offices at Shillong. Kamrup approximates closely to Sylhet under this head, and in both districts priests form two-thirds of the total: law is responsible for about one-sixteenth in Sylhet and one-twenty-fourth in Kamrup, medicine and instruction each for about one-twelfth in Sylhet and one-eighth in Kamrup, while letters and arts support one-twelfth in Sylhet and one-seventeenth in Kamrup of the total enumerated under professions.

Since 1901 the number so enumerated has grown by nearly 24 per cent., of which religion is responsible for 18 per cent. mainly on account of the very large increase in the returns under temple service in Manipur. Law accounts for 62 per cent., but lawyers have grown by only 25 per cent., while their clerks, petition-writers, etc., as returned, are now 131 per cent. more numerous than they were ten years ago. Medicine shows the satisfactory increase of 21 per cent., which is largely due to the multiplication of midwives, vaccinators, etc. Instruction now supports nearly 52 per cent. more than in 1901: the growth is natural in view of the great expansion of education.

This paragraph may be concluded with a glance at the statistics of public force and administration, which are popularly regarded as professions. In public force there is a decline of 3·5 per cent. owing to a reduction of 43 per cent. in the Imperial Army quartered in the province: we have now only two and half regiments against four in 1901, and their actual strength has decreased from 2,981 officers and men to 1,401. The total supported by police in 1901 I have had to estimate from the departmental statistics: there is an apparent increase of 11·6 per cent. in the number of workers and dependents, but according to the departmental reports there has been a decline of about 6 per cent. in the number of men, which is due to the transfer of some Military Police to the Eastern Bengal districts. Our figures show 5,442 actual workers under police and the police report of 1910 gives the strength at about 5,463, allowing for 200 men of the Dacca Battalion serving in Cachar and Garo Hills: on the other hand, only 1,771 have returned themselves as village watchmen, while the departmental statistics show that 6,604 were so employed in 1910, the great majority of whom must have returned themselves under other heads.

In public administration there is an apparent decline of 15 per cent. made up of over 14 per cent. in British service and 76 per cent. in Manipur: the former is not improbably due to the absence from the province of the headquarters staff, most of which was in Dacca on the census day, while in Manipur we have now a large decline in the number of dependents, our total now being only 224 against 1,067 in the group for menials and unspecified alone in 1901

144. *Workers and dependents.*—Subsidiary Tables I and III show the number of actual workers and of dependents and their relative proportions. It is perhaps hardly worth examining all the details of the former table and reference is invited only to Subsidiary Table III. Agriculture has only 44 actual workers to 56 dependents, the latter being more numerous than those under industry or commerce; but the professions head the list in the fewness of the workers and the large proportion of dependents. In the Surma Valley and the Hills the numbers of non-workers under agriculture and the professions are equal, and it is only in the Brahmaputra Valley that the provincial proportion is reproduced: this, I think, is due mainly to the fact that coolies on tea gardens are likely to include a small proportion of non-workers, because young and old work during the plucking season. A glance at Subsidiary Table I will show that the largest proportion of dependents is found among persons living on their income, who are closely followed by those in public administration and those in the professions. It will be noted that, as in 1901, there is a very small number of dependents in textile industries for obvious reasons in view of what I have explained already. I have referred in paragraph 134 to the accuracy of the distinction between workers and dependents.

Some points of interest.

Occupations of females.—Subsidiary Table VI reviews the occupations of females by sub-classes and selected orders. There are 412 female workers of every kind to 1,000 males, and practically the whole of them are confined to agriculture. On tea gardens the sexes are very nearly equal, the women being the superior sex at plucking, while the men do the cultivation. A glance at Table XV-A shows that the equality of the sexes on tea gardens is apparent in every district, but amongst ordinary cultivators it is found only in the Brahmaputra Valley and the Hills: I have already noted (in paragraph 134) that the statistics of female workers in Naga Hills as returned is incorrect. Under industry the excess of female workers is marked: the

figures for textiles are exaggerated, as has been pointed out previously, but the large proportion of female basket-makers, etc., is probably real. Under ceramics again the gentler sex is predominant; this is due to the fact that in the Brahmaputra Valley amongst the Hira caste it is they who fashion the pot (*vide* Hira in the glossary to Chapter XI). Sylhet is responsible for the large proportion of women in group 55, but the actual number is very small. The predominance of women in food industries is only natural, though their excess in distilling, which is confined to the Khasi Hills, is perhaps not what a stranger would expect. The same district is responsible for the large proportion of female porters. Cachar now, as in 1901, contains an apparent excess of female grain and pulse-dealers, which exaggerates the provincial statistics. Lastly, women must be in the majority in order 55, which includes "the oldest profession in the world."

Tea garden workers.—The province owes so much to European enterprise in tea and incidentally in oil and coal, that frequent reference to the fact has already been necessary, and it is not my intention now to enter into any great detail. Statistics concerning tea gardens will be found in Table XV-A, where those supported are shown separately under group 5, in the industrial Table XV-E, and in Provincial Tables III-V, which show the tea garden population of each district, respectively, by language, by birth place, and by caste. These statistics should be most useful to all employers of labour in Assam. We have already discussed the figures in the appropriate chapters, and they are mentioned here for easy reference by those who require them.

Occupations of those literate in English are shown in Provincial Table VI which was prepared for the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam under the orders of Sir Lancelot Hare, the late Lieutenant-Governor. The statistics will probably be of more interest for the districts of Bengal, but a brief notice of those for Assam will not be out of place. The headings of the table follow those of Imperial Table XVI, but as the figures had to be abstracted at a very early stage and before the sorters became familiar with occupational distinctions, I should not place implicit detailed reliance in them. The most numerous classes of actual male workers are shown in the margin. Arts and professions are an easy first; lawyers, doctors and teachers form the majority under this head. The high number who are cultivators is apparently promising, but I am afraid that the standard of literacy attained cannot be very high. It is clear that English education does not influence people towards the pursuit of trade or industry. Statistics are given for each religion in the Table. It is noteworthy that the number of dependents knowing English is about 40 per cent. of the workers and that there are 285 female workers, of whom 153 are employed in arts and professions and 41 are cultivators, but as 29 of the latter are Christians, we may presume that they are probably Khasis.

Arts and Professions	5,149
Agents, etc., of estates	4,452
Cultivators ...	4,362
Landlords ...	2,559
Boat, etc., owners ...	2,219
Public administration	2,170
Trade	1,558

Industrial Survey.—A report on the industries and resources of Eastern Bengal and Assam by Mr. G. N. Gupta, I.C.S., was published in 1908. Fortunately Mr. Gupta treats Assam separately in most things and consequently it is not difficult to refer to to what is required. I do not intend to discuss this report and I mention it here only for the benefit of those who are curious on the subject. What has been written in the present chapter reviews the facts as they existed in March 1911.

145. Subsidiary Table IX shows the distribution of occupations by religion and Subsidiary Table VIII the occupations of selected castes. The main table is Imperial Table XVI (including its appendix), which was compiled for Assam now for the first time, and there are parts III and IV of the industrial Table XV-E, which have been discussed in paragraph 140 so far as they relate to race.

Occupation by religion and caste.

In Subsidiary Table IX are given the religious distribution of 10,000 persons following each occupation and the occupational distribution of 10,000 persons of each religion. Muhammadan landlords are more than twice as numerous as Hindus on account of the predominance of the former in Sylhet. Animists are first in forestry and quarriers of hard rocks, which are represented by the limestone of the Khasi Hills. Hindus are in the majority in most orders under industry, except amongst masons and bricklayers, where Muhammadan masons are more numerous. In trade and transport Hindus easily outnumber the other religions, but Muhammadans form the greater part of the traders in clothes and in articles of luxury. In all other orders Hindus are in the majority. Nearly 88 per cent. of the Muhammadans are supported by ordinary cultivation and they are closely followed by Animists. Hindus are

in the majority in tea gardens, and the large proportion of Christians under special produce probably refers to the betel-leaf, etc., growers of the Khasi Hills. In view of the small proportions under all other heads, it is not worth while examining them.

We have already seen that outside the Surma Valley functional castes are hardly known in Assam. Hence it is no matter of surprise to find the great majority of the castes shown in Subsidiary Table VIII dependent on agriculture. I propose to draw attention only to those castes which do not follow the general rule. A little more than half the Baidyas and less than half the Brahmans are dependent on the produce of mother earth; of the former a large proportion follow miscellaneous occupations and almost 20 per cent. come under the arts and professions, mainly as lawyers, doctors, and teachers, while religion naturally absorbs a large proportion of the Brahmans. Castes like the Dhoba, Kumhar, Napit, and Sutradhar naturally show a fairly large number under their traditional occupations, though it is surprising how high is the proportion which returned agriculture: this is no doubt partly due to the greater respect of the latter source of livelihood. Only 32 per cent. of the Dhobas of Sylhet, 44 per cent. of the Kumhars of Sylhet and 16 per cent. of those of Kamrup, 42 per cent. of the Napits of Sylhet and 12 per cent. of those of Kamrup, and 50 per cent. of the Sutradhars of Sylhet and 14 per cent. of those of Goalpara have returned their traditional occupation. Incidentally these statistics show how much more crystalised is the caste system of Sylhet than that of the Brahmaputra Valley. It is clear that the greater part of the Chasi Kaibarttas or Mahishyas are cultivators now, whatever they may have been in the distant past. The fact that large numbers of Kamars, Tantis, and Telis are tea garden coolies and not artisans is reproduced in the statistics under consideration, but a fair proportion of Telis are traders. Those who returned themselves as Kewats in the Brahmaputra Valley are overwhelmingly fishermen, whether they are only real Kewats or contain a proportion of Nadiyals, who, however, prefer the title Kaibartta (*vide* paragraph 126 in Chapter XI) : those who returned themselves as Nadiyals include only 22 per cent. of fishermen. The Kshattriyas or Hinduised Manipuris of Manipur show the false excess we have already discussed under the head industry, and their compatriots in Sylhet and Cachar show the same tendency, though not to so great an extent. It is regrettable that the traditional occupation of Namasudras was taken to be cultivation as well as boating and hence their statistics cannot be compared with those of Patnis, who have returned only 12 per cent. of their number as boatmen. It will be obvious that the Brahmaputra Valley castes are mainly agriculturists. Women are shown in large proportion as workers only in the Brahmaputra Valley and Manipur and among the lower castes elsewhere. There are only 7 and 9 female workers per cent. of males amongst the Baidyas and Kayasthas, respectively, while the women of the Ahoms, Nadiyals, Kamars, and Tantis work largely : it should be remembered that the last two represent tea coolies. The Kalitas show only 47 per cent. of female workers, presumably on account of the high position of the caste. Brahmans contain an apparent percentage of 20 female workers, but this is due to the large number shown under industries, which probably refer to weaving housewives.

To complete our view of castes and occupations, we must refer to Table XV-E parts III and IV, certain income-tax statistics and the appendix to Table XVI. Out of 48 tea gardens owned by Indians 15 are the property of Brahmans and 11 of Kayasthas amongst Hindus and 8 belong to Muhammadans. In the management the same order is maintained, while west country Agarwalas manage 3 out of the 4 oil-mills. Income-tax statistics (which are not reproduced) show that out of 2,753 assessees 1,960 come under commerce and trade, 301 under professions, 45 under owners of property and 13 under manufacturers. In commerce and trade there are 457 Agarwalas, 163 Oswals, 75 Mahesris, 17 Jains, 15 Marwaris and 14 Khatris, making a total of 741 " Kayahs " out of 1,960 assessees : there were 289 Shahas, 121 Brahmans, 116 Kayasthas, and 235 Muhammadans under the same head. Under professions Kayasthas are first with 131, Brahmans second with 64 and Muhammadans third with 20, leaving 92 to be shared by all other castes. Amongst owners of property 10 are Brahmans, 7 Kayasthas, and 6 Rajbansis. Amongst manufacturers no less than 4 out of 13 are Kalitas, 2 Christians, 2 Muhammadans and 2 Telis. There remains a miscellaneous group of " others, " amounting to 434, of whom the most important are 87 Muhammadans, 74 Kayasthas, 51 Brahmans, 37 Kalitas, and 36

Shahas. Finally, it is interesting to note the number of assessees of the following castes, which are generally regarded as backward :—

Caste.	Professions.	Manufacturers.	Commerce and trade.	Owners of property.	Others.
Ahom	13	...	2		4
Chutiya	1	...	3	...	1
Dhoba	...	...	20	...	3
Kachari	...	...	2	...	11
Kaibartta	12	...	76	1	9
Kalita	8	4	52	...	37
Koch	3	...	6	1	19
Malakar	...	...	2	...	...
Mech	...	...	14	...	2
Miri	...	...	3	...	...
Nadiyal	...	...	5	...	...
Namasudra	...	...	4	...	1
Nunia	...	...	1	...	1
Patni	1	...	...	...	1
Rabha	...	...	2	...	2
Tipara	2	...	...	...	...
Turaha	...	...	1	...	1

It is clear from the above that the great part of the lucrative business of the province is in the hands of the Marwari, and that, if we exclude Shahas under commerce and trade, Brahmans and Kayasthas monopolise the rest of the income-tax-paying occupations.

We may end our consideration of occupational statistics by a brief inspection of the statistics contained in the appendix to Table XVI. Brahmans and Kayasthas form a great part of agents, etc., of landed estates, post and telegraph services, superior police service, gazetted officers in general administration, lawyers, medical practitioners (where Baidyas also loom large) and teachers. In the Brahmaputra Valley Rajbansis have a fairly large number in agents of estates and Kalitas amongst teachers: in the lower grade of public administration, Ahoms, Kalitas, and Koches are fairly strong among police constables, while Kacharis, Meches, Rajbansis, the Nepali castes, and the up-country Chhatris are well represented. The predominance amongst Hindus of Brahmans and Kayasthas in all the occupations given is clearly indicated. Their strength in Government service would have been proved also from the published lists of superior Government employés, but unfortunately the original returns of castes were destroyed, and I was unable to separate the figures for Assam from those of Eastern Bengal. Muhammadans are very few in proportion in all the groups given.

We may conclude by a glance at the castes of prisoners in jails which are included in the appendix to Table XVI. Muhammadans are apparently the worst, but this is no doubt due to the size of Sylhet district, which necessitates the maintenance of a large central jail. In the Surma Valley Chasi Kaibarttas, Kayasthas and Namasudras are the most numerous of the Hindus, while in the Brahmaputra Valley Nadiyals and Koches predominate. These statistics would have been extremely useful if Assam were infested with criminals, but we are blessed with an absence of crime and the figures are of more academic than real interest.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

General distribution by occupation.

Class, sub-class and order.	Number per 10,000 of total population.		Percentage in each class, sub-class and order of	
	Persons supported.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	Dependents.
1	2	3	4	5
A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS	**8,761**	**3,884**	**44**	**56**
I.—EXPLOITATION OF THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH	8,752	3,877	44	56
1. Pasture and Agriculture	8,609	3,814	44	56
(*a*) Ordinary cultivation	7,540	3,071	41	59
(*b*) Growers of special products and market gardening.	996	686	69	31
(*c*) Forestry	6	4	60	40
(*d*) Raising of farm stock	67	53	80	20
(*e*) Raising of small animals	...	...	58	42
2. Fishing and hunting	143	63	44	56
II.—EXTRACTION OF MINERALS	9	7	74	26
3. Mines	7	5	77	23
4. Quarries of hard rocks	1	1	62	38
5. Salt, etc.	1	1	59	41
B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.	**762**	**413**	**54**	**46**
III.—INDUSTRY	307	183	60	40
6. Textiles	84	67	80	20
7. Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom.	2	1	55	45
8. Wood	48	28	58	42
9. Metals	19	7	39	61
10. Ceramics	24	14	59	41
11. Chemical products properly so called, and analogous.	8	4	47	53
12. Food industries	27	17	63	37
13. Industries of dress and the toilet ...	51	24	46	54
14. Furniture industries	...	...	67	33
15. Building industries	13	7	56	44
16. Construction of means of transport ...	1	1	56	44
17. Production and transmission of physical forces (heat, light, electricity, motive power, etc.).	...	...	75	25
18. Industries of luxury and those pertaining to literature and the arts and sciences.	25	10	40	60
19. Industries concerned with refuse matter ...	5	3	53	47
IV.—TRANSPORT	109	69	64	36
20. Transport by water	34	19	56	44
21. Transport by road...	48	34	70	30
22. Transport by rail...	20	13	66	34
23. Post office, Telegraph and Telephone services	7	3	51	49

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

General distribution by occupation—concluded.

Class, sub-class and order.	Number per 10,000 of total population.		Percentage in each class, sub-class and order of	
	Persons supported.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	Dependents.
1	2	3	4	5
V.—TRADE...	346	161	47	53
24. Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance.	9	3	33	67
25. Brokerage, commission and export ...	1	...	46	54
26. Trade in textiles	22	13	59	41
27. Trade in skins, leather and furs ...	11	5	44	56
28. Trade in wood	5	2	46	54
29. Trade in metals	1	1	55	45
30. Trade in pottery	4	2	52	48
31. Trade in chemical products	3	1	51	49
32. Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.... ...	3	2	61	39
33. Other trade in food stuffs	231	102	44	56
34. Trade in clothing and toilet articles ...	2	2	68	32
35. Trade in furniture...	5	3	57	43
36. Trade in building materials	3	2	50	50
37. Trade in means of transport	4	2	61	39
38. Trade in fuel	4	1	42	58
39. Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.	13	7	54	46
40. Trade in refuse matter	...	...	100	...
41. Trade of other sorts	25	13	51	49
C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS.	184	70	38	62
VI.—PUBLIC FORCE	27	13	50	50
42. Army	5	3	70	30
44. Police	22	10	46	54
VII.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	21	7	32	68
VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS ...	132	49	37	63
46. Religion	78	27	35	65
47. Law	7	2	26	74
48. Medicine	16	6	39	61
49. Instruction	18	8	45	55
50. Letters and arts and sciences ...	13	6	45	55
IX.—PERSONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOME ...	4	1	29	71
D.—MISCELLANEOUS	293	183	62	38
X.—DOMESTIC SERVICE	55	39	72	28
XI.—INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATIONS	138	79	57	43
XII.—UNPRODUCTIVE...	100	65	65	35
54. Inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals ...	3	3	104	...
55. Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes ...	97	62	6	36

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Distribution by occupation in natural division.

Occupation.	Number per mille of total population supported in		
	Brahmaputra Valley.	Surma Valley.	Hills.
1	2	3	4
ALL OCCUPATIONS	*1,000*	*1,000*	*1,000*
A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS ...	**896**	**862**	**853**
1.—EXPLOITATION OF THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH ...	895	862	852
1. *Pasture and agriculture*	*887*	*836*	*851*
(*a*) Ordinary cultivation	740	748	816
1. Income from rent of agricultural land ...	4	42	...
2. Ordinary cultivators	726	688	808
3. Agents, managers of landed estates (not planters), clerks, rent-collectors, etc.	1	1	...
4. Farm servants and field labourers ...	9	17	8
(*b*) Growers of special products and market gardening.	137	84	26
5. Tea, coffee, cinchona and indigo plantations...	137	84	...
6. Fruit, flower, vegetable, betel, vine, areca-nut, etc., growers.	...	...	26
(*d*) Raising of farm stock	9	4	8
9. Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers ...	3	2	2
12. Herdsmen, shepherds, goatherds, etc. ...	6	2	6
Others (groups 7, 8, and 13) ...	1	...	1
2. Fishing and hunting	8	26	1
II.—EXTRACTION OF MINERALS	1	...	1
B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.	**62**	**86**	**92**
III.—INDUSTRY	21	32	59
6. Textiles	*2*	*3*	*46*
8. Wood	*3*	*8*	*3*
9. Metals	*2*	*2*	*1*
12. Food industries	*1*	*4*	*3*
13. Industries of dress and the toilet ...	*4*	*7*	*2*
Other industries (rest of sub-class) ...	*9*	*8*	*4*
IV.—TRANSPORT	12	10	9
V.—TRADE	29	44	24
26. Trade in textiles	*1*	*2*	*5*
32. Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc. ...	...	...	*1*
33. Other trade in food stuffs	*19*	*30*	*14*
Other trades (rest of sub-class) ...	*9*	*12*	*4*
C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS.	**14**	**22**	**23**
VI.—PUBLIC FORCE	2	2	7
VII.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	2	2	4
VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS ...	9	18	11
IX.—PERSONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOME ...	1	...	1
D.—MISCELLANEOUS	**28**	**30**	**32**
X.—DOMESTIC SERVICE	6	6	4
XI.—INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATIONS ...	11	13	26
XII.—UNPRODUCTIVE	11	11	2

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Distribution of the agricultural, industrial, commercial and professional population in Natural Divisions and Districts.

District and Natural Division.	Agriculture.				Industry (including mines).				Commerce.				Professions.			
	Population supported by agriculture.	Proportion of agricultural population per 1,000 of district population.	Percentage on agricultural population of		Population supported by industry.	Proportion of industrial population per 1,000 of district population.	Percentage of industrial population of		Population supported by commerce.	Proportion of commercial population per 1,000 of district population.	Percentage on commercial population of		Population supported by professions.	Proportion of professional population per 1,000 of district population.	Percentage on professional population of	
			Actual workers.	Dependents.			Actual workers.	Dependents.			Actual workers.	Dependents.			Actual workers.	Dependents.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
ASSAM	*6,026,173*	*854*	*44*	*56*	*223,147*	*32*	*60*	*40*	*321,158*	*45*	*51*	*49*	*92,915*	*13*	*37*	*63*
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.	*2,726,757*	*877*	*52*	*48*	*68,367*	*22*	*56*	*44*	*128,223*	*41*	*59*	*41*	*29,288*	*9*	*39*	*61*
Goalpara	518,006	862	36	64	13,713	23	61	39	32,448	54	63	37	4,425	7	44	56
Kamrup	550,578	824	41	59	22,484	34	47	53	37,836	57	48	52	12,069	18	33	67
Darrang	337,790	895	63	37	3,931	10	61	39	9,753	25	71	29	1,953	5	45	55
Nowgong	376,443	911	55	45	4,366	14	57	43	9,900	33	68	32	2,127	7	35	65
Sibsagar	632,430	916	59	41	9,088	14	54	46	20,188	29	65	35	5,797	8	40	60
Lakhimpur ...	411,510	877	64	36	13,885	30	65	35	18,003	39	61	39	2,917	6	50	50
SURMA VALLEY ...	*2,472,420*	*833*	*35*	*65*	*95,184*	*32*	*53*	*47*	*160,786*	*54*	*41*	*59*	*52,858*	*18*	*35*	*65*
Cachar (including North Cachar).	447,299	899	44	56	8,339	17	64	36	17,604	35	66	34	3,924	8	45	55
Sylhet	2,025,121	819	34	66	86,845	35	52	48	143,182	58	38	62	48,934	20	34	66
HILLS	*826,996*	*843*	*44*	*56*	*59,596*	*61*	*76*	*24*	*32,149*	*33*	*62*	*38*	*10,769*	*11*	*44*	*56*
Garo Hills	153,064	963	57	43	687	4	73	27	2,112	13	64	36	291	2	62	38
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	179,121	762	58	42	8,526	38	57	43	13,989	60	59	41	2,940	13	46	54
Naga Hills	140,214	937	34	66	460	3	55	45	741	5	75	25	305	2	44	56
Manipur	269,154	777	30	70	49,168	142	80	20	14,770	43	64	36	6,765	20	42	58
Lushai Hills ...	85,443	937	57	43	465	5	52	48	537	6	71	29	468	5	48	52

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Occupations combined with agriculture (where agriculture is the subsidiary occupation).

Occupation.	Number per mille who are partially agriculturists.			
	Province.	Brahmaputra Valley	Surma Valley.	Hills.
1	2	3	4	5
ALL OCCUPATIONS	*35*	*27*	*55*	*17*
A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS	**23**	**23**	**30**	**6**
I.—Exploitation of the surface of the Earth	23	23	30	6
1. Pasture and agriculture	*19*	*23*	*18*	*6*
(*a*) Ordinary cultivation	...	...	1	...
3. Agents, managers of landed estates (not planters), clerks, rent collectors, etc.	284	278	291	158
(*b*) Growers of special products and market gardening.	99	104	85	148
5. Tea, coffee, cinchona and indigo plantations ...	97	104	85	17
6. Fruit, flower, vegetable, betel, vine, areca-nut, etc., growers.	145	59	120	149
(*c*) Raising of farm stock	49	27	157	6
9. Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers ...	146	76	338	32
10. Sheep, goat and pig breeders	109	140	...	...
12. Herdsmen, shepherds, goatherds, etc. ...	10	8	30	2
Others (Groups 7, 8 and 13)	99	93	274	26
2. Fishing and hunting	*280*	*103*	*340*	*59*
II.—Extraction of Minerals	19	21	...	8

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Occupations combined with agriculture (where agriculture is the subsidiary occupation)—concluded.

Occupation.	Number per mille who are partially agriculturists.			
	Province.	Brahmaputra Valley.	Surma Valley.	Hills.
1	2	3	4	5
B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.	**113**	**54**	**205**	**49**
I, II—Industry	109	66	204	35
6. Textiles	*41*	*10*	*138*	*26*
8. Wood	*144*	*71*	*181*	*64*
9. Metals	*265*	*125*	*463*	*231*
12. Food industries	*38*	*11*	*10*	*169*
13. Industries of dress and the toilet	*231*	*60*	*366*	*19*
Other industries (rest of sub-class). ...	*132*	*81*	*218*	*30*
IV.—Transport	100	54	156	159
V.—Trade	123	45	221	46
26. Trade in textiles	*75*	*41*	*154*	*24*
32. Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.	*40*	*46*	*110*	*18*
33. Other trade in food stuffs	*134*	*42*	*245*	*56*
Other trades (rest of sub-class)	*115*	*53*	*184*	*54*
C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS.	**229**	**189**	**303**	**133**
VI.—Public Force	190	71	348	167
VII.—Public Administration	251	293	309	115
VIII.—Professions and Liberal Arts ...	239	198	296	116
IX.—Persons living on their Income ...	158	191	302	64
D.—MISCELLANEOUS	**44**	**20**	**65**	**62**
X.—Domestic Service	43	22	78	17
XI.—Insufficiently described occupations ...	67	34	95	76
XII.—Unproductive	17	5	31	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Occupations combined with agriculture (where agriculture is the principal occupation).

Landlords (Rent-receivers).		Cultivators (Rent-payers).		Farm servants and field labourers.	
Subsidiary occupation.	Number per 10,000 who follow it.	Subsidiary occupation.	Number per 10,000 who follow it.	Subsidiary occupation.	Number per 10,000 who follow it.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Total	10,000	Total	10,000	Total	10,000
Rent-payers ...	3,843	Rent-receivers ...	406	Rent-receivers ...	158
Agricultural labourers ...	147	Agricultural labourers ...	346	Rent-payers ...	1,798
Government servants of all kinds.	200	General labourers ...	2,386	General labourers ...	2,279
Money lenders and grain dealers.	685	Government servants of all kinds.	53	Village watchmen ...	31
Other traders of all kinds	1,781	Money lenders and grain dealers.	153	Cattle breeders and milkmen.	140
Priests	833	Other traders of all kinds	1,779	Mill hands	36

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Occupations combined with agriculture (where agriculture is the principal occupation)—concld.

Landlords (Rent receivers).		Cultivators (Rent-payers).		Farm servants and field labourers.	
Subsidiary occupation.	Number per 10,000 who follow it.	Subsidiary occupation.	Number per 10,000 who follow it.	Subsidiary occupation.	Number per 10,000 who follow it.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Clerks of all kinds (not Government).	325	Fishermen and boatmen...	1,098	Fishermen and boatmen...	1,051
School masters ...	268	Cattle breeders and milkmen.	130	Rice pounders ...	96
Lawyers	66	Village watchmen ...	175	Traders of all kinds ...	173
Estate agents and managers.	82	Weavers	398	Oil pressers ...	5
Medical practitioners ...	145	Barbers	100	Weavers	652
Artisans	172	Oil pressers ...	57	Potters	18
Other occupations ...	1,453	Washermen ...	76	Leather workers ...	75
		Potters	111	Washermen ...	70
		Blacksmiths and carpenters.	253	Blacksmiths and carpenters.	54
		Other occupations ...	2,479	Other occupations ...	3,364

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Occupations of females by sub-classes, and selected orders and groups.

Group No.	Occupation.	Number of actual workers.		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5
	TOTAL IN PROVINCE.	2,227,484	985,186	442
	SUB-CLASS I.—EXPLOITATION OF THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH.	1,913,934	823,505	430
	Order 1.—Pasture and agriculture	*1,871,232*	*821,762*	*439*
	(*a*) Ordinary cultivation	1,587,920	580,482	366
1	Income from rent of agricultural land	18,286	4,195	229
2	Ordinary cultivators	1,525,888	566,322	371
4	Farm servants and field labourers	40,647	9,965	245
	(*b*) Growers of special products and market gardening.	246,281	238,142	967
5	Tea, coffee, cinchona and indigo plantations ...	237,893	230,762	970
6	Fruit, flower, vegetable, betel, vine, areca-nut, etc., growers.	8,388	7,380	880
	(*c*) Forestry	2,130	327	154
8	Wood-cutters, firewood, lac, catechu, rubber, etc., collectors, and charcoal burners.	1,459	327	224
	(*d*) Raising of farm stock	34,867	2,767	79
9	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers	9,457	1,226	130
12	Herdsmen, shepherds, goatherds, etc.	25,367	1,525	60
	Order 2.—Fishing and hunting	*42,702*	*1,743*	*41*
14	Fishing	42,459	1,716	40
	SUB-CLASS II.—EXTRACTION OF MINERALS ...	3,638	1,174	323
	Order 3.—Mines	*3,060*	*903*	*295*
16	Coal mines and petroleum wells	3,038	902	297

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Occupations of females by sub-classes, and selected orders and groups—continued.

Group No.	Occupation.	Number of actual workers.		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5
	Order 4.—Quarries of hard rocks	*395*	*27*	*68*
	SUB-CLASS III.—INDUSTRY	56,018	72,944	1,302
	Order 6.—Textiles	2,914	44,736	15,352
22	Cotton spininng, sizing and weaving	2,019	43,467	21,529
27	Silk spinners and weavers	249	876	3,518
	Order 7.—Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom.	*752*	*41*	*55*
	Order 8.—Wood	*12,071*	*7,552*	*626*
36	Sawyers, carpenters, turners and joiners, etc. ...	9,624	253	26
37	Basket makers and other industries of woody material, including leaves.	2,447	7,299	2,983
	Order 9.—Metals	*4,964*	*170*	*34*
41	Other workers in iron and makers of implements and tools, principally or exclusively of iron.	3,209	48	15
42	Workers in brass, copper and bell metal	1,574	114	72
	Order 10.—Ceramics	*4,415*	*5,513*	*1,249*
47	Potters and earthen pipe and bowl makers ...	3,817	5,295	1,387
	Order 11.—Chemical products properly so called, and analogous.	*1,813*	*739*	*408*
53	Manufacture and refining of vegetable and mineral oils.	1,591	316	199
55	Others (soap, candles, lac, cutch, perfumes and miscellaneous drugs).	201	423	2,104
	Order 12.—Food industries	*1,539*	*10,735*	*6,975*
56	Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders ...	341	8,670	25,425
58	Grain parchers, etc.	55	620	11,273
64	Brewers and distillers	187	1,323	7,075
	Order 13.—Industries of dress and the toilet ...	*14,269*	*2,354*	*165*
68	Tailors, milliners, dressmakers and darners, embroiderers on linen.	4,153	791	190
69	Shoe, boot and sandal makers	835	28	34
71	Washing, cleaning, and dyeing	3,320	1,437	433
72	Barbers, hairdressers and wig makers	5,829	79	14
	Order 15.—Building industries	*4,582*	*414*	*90*
77	Excavators, plinth builders and well-sinkers ...	1,780	203	114
78	Stone and marble workers, masons and bricklayers ...	1,507	10	7
79	Others (thatchers, building contractors, house painters, tilers, plumbers, lock-smiths, etc.)	1,126	47	42
	Order 18.—Industries of luxury and those pertaining to literature and the arts and sciences.	*6,900*	*280*	*41*
89	Workers in precious stones and metals, enamellers, imitation jewellery makers, gilders, etc.	5,985	212	35
93	*Order 19.—Industries concerned with refuse matter*	*1,395*	*401*	*287*
	SUB-CLASS IV.—TRANSPORT	44,685	4,029	90
	Order 20.—Transport by water	*13,409*	*29*	*2*
95	Ship owners and their employés, ship brokers, ships' officers, engineers, mariners and firemen.	2,203	4	2
97	Boat owners, boatmen, and towmen	11,068	16	1

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Occupations of females by sub-classes, and selected orders and groups—continued.

Group No.	Occupation.	Number of actual workers.		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5
	Order 21.—Transport by road	*21,017*	*2,828*	*135*
98	Persons employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges.	10,342	954	92
99	Cart owners and drivers, coachmen, stable boys, tramway, mail carriage, etc., managers and employés (excluding private servants).	6,694	67	10
102	Porters and messengers	2,343	1,807	771
	Order 22.—Transport by rail	*7,927*	*1,172*	*148*
103	Railway employés of all kinds other than construction coolies.	6,577	395	60
104	Labourers employed on railway construction ...	1,350	777	576
	SUB-CLASS V.—TRADE	80,464	33,370	415
106	*Order 24.—Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance.*	*1,679*	*452*	*269*
108	*Order 26.—Trade in textiles*	*5,730*	*3,258*	*569*
109	*Order 27.—Trade in skins, leather and furs* ...	*3,403*	*128*	*38*
110	*Order 28.—Trade in wood*	*1,421*	*206*	*145*
112	*Order 30.—Trade in pottery*	*1,413*	*267*	*189*
	Order 33.—Other trade in food stuffs	*47,440*	*24,459*	*516*
116	Fish dealers	11,993	8,987	749
117	Grocers and sellers of vegetable oil, salt and other condiments.	14,867	2,643	178
118	Sellers of milk, butter, ghee, poultry, eggs, etc. ...	5,024	1,082	215
119	Sellers of sweetmeats, sugar, gur and molasses ...	1,574	361	229
120	Cardamom, betel-leaf, vegetables, fruit and areca-nut sellers.	6,329	4,482	708
121	Grain and pulse dealers	6,710	6,610	985
122	Tobacco, opium, ganja, etc., sellers	838	248	296
	Order 35.—Trade in furniture	*1,773*	*408*	*230*
126	Trade in furniture, carpets, curtains and bedding ...	1,288	379	294
128	*Order 36.—Trade in building materials (stones, bricks, plaster, cement, sand, tiles, thatch, etc.).*	*839*	*330*	*393*
129	*Order 37.—Trade in means of transport*	*1,498*	*204*	*136*
130	*Order 38.— Trade in fuel*	*806*	*285*	*354*
	Order 39.—Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.	*4,195*	*972*	*231*
132	Dealers in common bangles, bead necklaces, fans, small articles, toys, hunting and fishing tackle, flowers, etc.	3,917	846	216
	Order 41.—Trade of other sorts	*7,853*	*1,048*	*133*
135	Shopkeepers otherwise unspecified	6,845	933	136
	SUB-CLASS VII.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION ...	4,688	56	12
	SUB-CLASS VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS	33,181	1,460	44

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Occupations of females by sub-classes and selected orders and groups—concld.

Group No.	Occupation.	Number of actual workers.		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5
	Order 46.—*Religion*	*18,402*	*891*	*48*
148	Priests, ministers, etc.	15,460	639	41
151	Temple, burial or burning ground service, pilgrim conductors, circumcisers.	1,724	175	102
	Order 48.—*Medicine*	*3,992*	*264*	*66*
154	Medical practitioners of all kinds, including dentists, oculists and veterinary surgeons.	2,947	86	29
155	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc.	1,045	178	170
156	*Order* 49.—*Instruction*	*5,356*	*229*	*43*
	Order 50.—*Letters and arts and sciences*	*4,108*	*76*	*19*
160	Music composers and masters, players on all kinds of musical instruments (not military), singers, actors and dancers.	2,265	76	34
161	SUB-CLASS IX.—Persons living on their Income	877	67	76
	SUB-CLASS X.—Domestic Service	22,033	5,550	252
162	Cooks, water-carriers, doorkeepers, watchmen and other indoor servants.	20,228	5,526	273
163	Private grooms, coachmen, dog boys, etc. ...	1,805	24	13
	SUB-CLASS XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	38,501	16,902	439
165	Cashiers, accountants, book-keepers, clerks and other employes in unspecified offices, warehouses and shops.	6,208	114	18
167	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified ...	30,480	16,788	551
	SUB-CLASS XII.—Unproductive	20,082	26,129	1,301
168	*Order* 54.—*Inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals* ...	*2,160*	*88*	*41*
169	*Order* 55.—*Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes* ...	*17,922*	*26,041*	*1,453*

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Selected Occupations, 1911 *and* 1901.

Group No.	Occupation.	Population supported in 1911.	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	I.—Exploitation of the surface of the Earth...	6,178,391	5,261,582	+ 17·4
	1.—*Pasture and agriculture*	*6,077,685*	*5,184,087*	+ *17·2*
	(*a*) Ordinary cultivation	5,323,380	4,529,025	+17·5
1	Income from rent of agricultural land	137,106	52,571	+160·8
2	Ordinary cultivators	5,092,771	4,380,771	+ 16·3
3	Agents, managers of landed estates (not planters), clerks, rent-collectors, etc.	8,581	3,507	+144·7
4	Farm servants and field labourers	84,922	92,176	— 7·9

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Selected Occupations, 1911 *and* 1901—continued.

Group No.	Occupation.	Population supported in 1911.	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	(*b*) Growers of special products and market gardening.	702,793	631,259	+11·3
5	Tea, coffee, cinchona and indigo plantations ...	675,360	629,907	+ 7·2
6	Fruit, flower, vegetable, betel, vine, areca-nut, etc., growers.	27,433	1,852	+ 1,929·1
	(*c*) Forestry	4,099	3,465	+ 18·3
8	Wood-cutters, firewood, lac, catechu, rubber, etc., collectors, and charcoal burners.	2,763	2,795*	— 1·1
	(*d*) Raising of farm stock	47,278	20,239	+133·6
9	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers	18,819	11,086*	+ 69·8
10	Sheep, goat and pig breeders	96	75*	+ 28·0
11	Breeders of other animals (horses, mules, camels, asses, etc.)	9	88	— 89·8
12	Herdsmen, shepherds, goatherds, etc.	28,354	8,990*	+215·4
	(*e*) Raising of small animals	135	99	+ 36·4
	2. Fishing and hunting	*100,706*	*77,495*	*+ 30·0*
14	Fishing	100,102	77,155	+ 29·7
15	Hunting	604	340	+ 77·6
	II.—Extraction of Minerals	6,523	3,495	+ 86·6
	3. Mines	*5,122*	*2,199*	*+ 132·9*
	4. Quarries of hard rocks	*680*	*667*	*+ 1·9*
	5. Salt, etc.	*721*	*629*	*+ 14·6*
	III.—Industry	216,624	200,284	+ 8·2
	6. Textiles	*59,419*	*58,275*	*+ 2·0*
21	Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing	46	3,276	— 98·6
22	Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving	56,295	53,530	+ 5·2
23	Jute spinning, pressing and weaving	196	...	...
24	Rope, twine and string	1,085	549	+ 97·6
26	Wool carders and spinners, weavers of woolen blankets, carpets, etc.	10	10*	...
27	Silk spinners and weavers	1,717	568	+ 202·3
30	Dyeing, bleaching, printing, preparation and sponging of textiles.	44	349	— 87·1
	7. Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom.	*1,432*	*1,071*	*+ 33·7*
32	Tanners, curriers, leather dressers, etc.	1,223	1,000*	+ 22·3
33	Makers of leather articles, such as trunks, water bags, etc.	83	...	...
34	Furriers	113	68*	+ 66·2
35	Bone, ivory, horn, shell, etc., workers	13	3	+ 333·3
	8. Wood	*34,029*	*28,203*	*+ 20·7*
36	Sawyers, carpenters, turners and joiners, etc. ...	20,318	17,481*	+ 16·2
37	Basket makers and other industries of woody material, including leaves.	13,711	10,722	+ 27·9
	9. Metals	*13,248*	*12,022*	*+ 10·2*
39	Plough and agricultural implement makers ...	220	168	+ 31·0
41	Other workers in iron and makers of implements and tools, principally or exclusively of iron.	7,860	7,466	+ 5·3
42	Workers in brass, copper and bell metal ...	4,957	4,207	+ 17·8

N. B.—Figures of 1901 marked with an asterisk are approximate.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Selected Occupations, 1911 *and* 1901—continued.

Group No.	Occupation.	Population supported in 1911.	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	10. Ceramics	*16,795*	*12,690*	*+ 32·3*
47	Potters and earthen pipe and bowl makers ...	15,677	11,939	+ 31·3
	11. Chemical products properly so called, and analogous	*5,426*	*3,446*	*+ 57·5*
53	Manufacture and refining of vegetable and mineral oils.	4,286	3,028	+ 41·5
	12. Food industries	*19,371*	*23,965*	*— 19·2*
56	Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders ...	13,637	17,721	— 23·0
57	Bakers and biscuit makers	662	647	+ 2·3
58	Grain parchers, etc.	1,023	3,921	— 73·9
59	Butchers	376	296	+ 27·0
62	Makers of sugar, molasses and gur	45	20*	+ 125
63	Sweetmeat makers, preparers of jam and condiments, etc.	1,029	63	+1,533·3
64	Brewers and distillers	2,516	1,280	+ 96·6
65	Toddy drawers	16	...	...
	13. Industries of dress and the toilet	*36,090*	*32,256*	*+ 11·9*
68	Tailors, milliners, dress makers and darners, embroiderers on linen.	10,018	8,716	+ 14·9
69	Shoe, boot and sandal makers	1,852	1,974	— 6·2
71	Washing, cleaning and dyeing	8,956	8,725	+ 2·6
72	Barbers, hairdressers and wig makers ...	14,949	12,830	+ 16·5
	14. Furniture industries	*73*	*80*	*— 8·8*
	15. Building industries	*8,958*	*7,055*	*+ 27·0*
77	Excavators, plinth builders and well-sinkers ...	3,004	30	+9,913·3
78	Stone and marble workers, masons and bricklayers ...	3,044	3,215	— 5·3
	16. Construction of means of transport ...	*640*	*2,122*	*— 69·8*
	17. Production and transmission of physical forces (heat, light, electricity, motive power, etc.).	*4*	*1*	*+300*
	18. Industries of luxury and those pertaining to literature and the arts and sciences.	*17,736*	*15,768*	*+ 12·5*
89	Workers in precious stones and metals, enamellers, imitation jewellery makers, gilders, etc.	15,647	14,625	+ 7·0
90	Makers of bangles, rosaries, bead and other necklaces, spangles, lingams and sacred threads.	350	259	+ 35·1
93	*19. Industries concerned with refuse matter ...*	*3,403*	*3,330**	*+ 2·2*
	IV.—TRANSPORT	76,600	69,636	+ 10·0
	20. Transport by water	*23,841*	*13,692*	*+ 74·1*
95	Ship owners and their employés, ship brokers, ships' officers, engineers, mariners and firemen.	3,043	2,897	+ 5·0
96	Persons employed on the maintenance of streams, rivers and canals (including construction).	3	...	...
97	Boat owners, boatmen and towmen	20,480	10,373	+ 97·4
	21. Transport by road	*34,268*	*22,628*	*+ 51·4*
98	Persons employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges.	13,967	7,583*	+ 84·2
99	Cart owners, and drivers, coachmen, stable boys, tramway, mail carriage, etc., managers and employés (excluding private servants).	10,194	7,142	+ 42·7

N. B.—Figures of 1901 marked with an asterisk are approximate.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Selected Occupations, 1911 *and* 1901—*continued.*

Group No.	Occupation.	Population supported in 1911.	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
100	Palki, etc., bearers and owners	3,503	1,774	+ 97·5
101	Pack elephant, camel, mule, ass and bullock owners and drivers.	23	3,638	— 99·4
102	Porters and messengers	6,581	2,491	+ 164·2
	22. Transport by rail	*13,477*	*30,044*	*— 55·1*
103	Railway employés of all kinds other than construction coolies.	11,213	6,044	+ 85·5
104	Labourers employed on railway construction ...	2,264	24,000*	— 90·6
105	*23. Post office, Telegraph and Telephone services ...*	*4,614*	*3,272*	*+ 41·0*
	V.—TRADE	244,558	247,462	— 1·2
106	*24. Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance.*	*6,408*	*3,015*	*+ 112·5*
107	*25. Brokerage, commission, and export ...*	*413*	*762*	*— 45·8*
108	*26. Trade in textiles ... ...*	*15,323*	*11,923*	*+ 28·5*
109	*27. Trade in skins, leather and furs ... ...*	*8,049*	*5,108**	*+ 57·6*
110	*28. Trade in wood ... ...*	*3,519*	*3,623**	*— 2·9*
111	*29. Trade in metals ... ...*	*659*	*192*	*+ 243·2*
112	*30. Trade in pottery ... ...*	*3,208*	*5,865*	*— 45·3*
113	*31. Trade in chemical products ... ...*	*1,811*	*562*	*+ 222·2*
	32. Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.	*1,921*	*2,048*	*— 6·2*
114	Vendors of wine, liquors, aerated waters, etc. ...	1,246	1,728	— 27·9
115	Owners and managers of hotels, cookshops, sarais, etc., and their employés.	675	320	+ 110·9
	33. Other trade in food stuffs	*163,089*	*165,415*	*— 1·4*
116	Fish dealers	60,234	77,552	— 22·3
117	Grocers and sellers of vegetable oil, salt and other condiments.	36,797	32,223	+ 14·2
118	Sellers of milk, butter, ghee, poultry, eggs, etc. ...	11,043	6,614*	+ 67·0
119	Sellers of sweetmeats, sugar, gur and molasses ...	3,787	3,112*	+ 21·7
120	Cardamom, betel-leaf, vegetables, fruit and areca-nut sellers.	22,060	22,616	— 2·5
121	Grain and pulse dealers	26,551	20,529	+ 29·3
122	Tobacco, opium, ganja, etc., sellers	2,360	2,449	— 3·6
123	Dealers in sheep, goats and pigs	157	130*	+ 20·8
124	Dealers in hay, grass and fodder	100	190	— 47·4
125	*34. Trade in clothing and toilet articles ... ...*	*1,661*	*708*	*+ 134·6*
	35. Trade in furniture	*3,800*	*7,062*	*— 46·2*
127	Hardware, cooking utensils, porcelain, crockery, glassware, bottles, articles for gardening, the cellar, etc.	1,368	7,052	— 80·6
128	*36. Trade in building materials ... ...*	*2,336*	*2,606*	*— 10·4*
129	*37. Trade in means of transport ... ...*	*2,798*	*1,662**	*+ 68·4*
130	*38. Trade in fuel ... ...*	*2,594*	*2,076**	*+ 25·0*

N. B.—Figures of 1901 marked with an asterisk are approximate.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Selected Occupations, 1911 *and* 1901—continued.

Group No.	Occupation.	Population supported in 1911.	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	39. *Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.*	*9,555*	*2,422*	*+294·5*
131	Dealers in precious stones, jewellery (real and imitation), clocks, optical instruments, etc.	463	381	+ 21·5
132	Dealers in common bangles, bead necklaces, fans, small articles, toys, hunting and fishing tackle, flowers, etc.	8,858	1,967*	+350·3
134	40. *Trade in refuse matter*	*3*	...	...
	41. *Trade of other sorts*	*17,411*	*32,413*	*— 46·3*
135	Shopkeepers otherwise unspecified	15,356	30,376	— 49·4
138	Other trades (including farmers of pounds, tolls and markets).	971	803	+ 20·9
	VI.—Public Force	18,885	19,576	— 3·5
	42. *Army*	*3,122*	*5,448*	*— 42·7*
139	Army (Imperial)	3,105	5,448	— 43·0
140	Army (Native States)	17	...	...
	44. *Police*	*15,763*	*14,128*	*+ 11·6*
142	Police	10,770	9,308*	+ 15·7
143	Village watchmen	4,993	4,820*	+ 3·6
	VII.—Public administration	15,032	17,676	— 15·0
144	Service of the State	9,126	10,635*	— 14·2
145	Service of Native and Foreign States	545	2,293	— 76·2
146	Municipal and other local (not village) service ...	1,160	706	+ 64·3
147	Village officials and servants other than watchmen ...	4,201	4,042*	+ 3·9
	VIII.—Professions and liberal arts	92,915	75,126	+ 23·7
	46. *Religion*	*55,289*	*46,890*	*+ 17·9*
148	Priests, Ministers, etc.	48,309	43,631	+ 10·7
149	Religious mendicants, inmates of monasteries, etc. ...	797	535	+ 49·0
150	Catechists, readers, Church and Mission service ...	1,600	1,044*	+ 53·3
151	Temple, burial or burning ground service, pilgrim conductors, circumcisers.	4,583	1,680*	+172·8
	47. *Law*	*5,118*	*3,160*	*+ 62·0*
152	Lawyers of all kinds, including Kazis, law agents and mukhtiars.	2,586	2,064	+ 25·3
153	Lawyers' clerks, petition writers, etc.	2,532	1,096	+131·0
	48. *Medicine*	*10,886*	*8,966*	*+ 21·4*
154	Medical practitioners of all kinds, including dentists, oculists and veterinary surgeons.	8,502	7,693	+ 10·5
155	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc.	2,384	1,273	+ 87·3
156	49. *Instruction*	*12,357*	*8,148*	*+ 51·7*
	50. *Letters and Arts and Sciences*	*9,265*	*7,962*	*+ 16·4*
159	Others (authors, photographers, artists, sculptors, astronomers, meteorologists, botanists, astrologers, etc.).	1,245	1,565*	—20·4
160	Music composers and masters, players on all kinds of musical instruments (not military), singers, actors, and dancers.	5,304	5,047	+ 5·1
	IX.—Persons living on their Income	3,206	2,649	+ 21·0

N. B.—Figures of 1901 marked with an asterisk are approximate.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Selected Occupations, 1911 *and* 1901—concluded.

Group No.	Occupation.	Population supported in 1911.	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	X.—Domestic Service	38,539	51,050	—24·5
162	Cooks, water-carriers, doorkeepers, watchmen and other indoor servants.	35,389	48,399	—26·9
163	Private grooms, coachmen, dog boys, etc.	3,150	2,651	+18·8
	XI.—Insufficiently described occupations ...	97,701	97,175	+ 0·5
164	Manufacturers, business men and contractors otherwise unspecified.	1,899	2,902	—34·6
165	Cashiers, accountants, book-keepers, clerks and other employés in unspecified offices, warehouses and shops.	9,898	16,105*	—38·5
167	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified ...	83,780	78,146	+ 7·2
	XII.—Unproductive	70,883	80,632	—12·1
168	54. *Inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals* ...	*2,256*	*1,767*	*+27·7*
169	55. *Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes*	*68,627*	*78,865**	*—13·0*

N. B.—Figures of 1901 marked with an asterisk are approximate.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.

Occupations of selected castes.

Caste and occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
1	2	3
AHOM.		
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	1,000	84
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	972	87
Order 1.—Group 2.—Cultivators of all kinds	958	89
Sub-class III.—Industries	3	22
„ „ V.—Trade	2	5
„ „ X.—Domestic service	3	32
„ „ XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	5	36
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	6	126
Others	9	...
BAIDYA.		
PROVINCE	1,000	7
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	546	12
„ „ VIII.—Arts and professions ...	196	2
Orders 47-49—Lawyers, doctors and teachers...	175	2
Others	258	4
BARUI.		
SURMA VALLEY	1,000	16
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	943	15
Order 1.—Group 2.—Cultivators of all kinds	790	13
Sub-class V.—Trade	19	5
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	14	143
Others	24	18
BHUINMALI.		
SYLHET	1,000	12
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	725	6
„ „ III.—Industries	118	26
„ „ IV.—Transport	31	1
„ „ V.—Trade	52	52
„ „ X.—Domestic service	18	20
„ „ XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	35	42
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	12	183
Others	9	3
BRAHMAN.		
PROVINCE	1,000	20
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	497	26
„ „ III.—Industries	31	709
„ „ V.—Trade	74	19
„ „ VIII.—Arts and professions ...	201	4
Order 46.—Religion	202	5
Sub-class X.—Domestic service ...	20	2
„ „ XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	11	9
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	28	46
Others	38	1
DHOBA.		
SYLHET	1,000	19
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	647	8
„ „ III.—Industries	324	45
„ „ XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	7	18
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	7	272
Others	15	7
GOALA.		
PROVINCE	1,000	46
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	811	53
Order 1 (*d*).—Raisers of livestock, milkmen and herdsmen, etc.	129	7
Sub-class III.—Industries	21	26
„ „ IV.—Transport	37	3
„ „ V.—Trade	25	24
„ „ X.—Domestic service ...	35	22
„ „ XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	48	33
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	10	75
Others	13	29
JOGI OR JUGI.		
PROVINCE	1,000	34
Sub-class I.—Exploitationof the surface of the earth.	877	31
„ „ III.—Industries	53	87
„ „ V.—Trade	13	16
„ „ VIII.—Arts and professions ...	13	5
„ „ X.—Domestic service ...	4	19
„ „ XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	8	20
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	27	282
Others	5	1
KAIBARTTA CHASI (MAHISHYA).		
PROVINCE	1,000	6
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	895	4
Order 1.—Group 2.—Cultivators of all kinds...	818	3
Sub-class III.—Industries	18	115
„ „ V.—Trade	26	4
„ „ X.—Domestic service ...	29	30
„ „ XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	5	18
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	11	154
Others	16	3
KALITA.		
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	1,000	47
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	883	48
Order 1, Group 2—Cultivators of all kinds ...	845	50
Sub-class III.—Industries	30	78
„ „ V.—Trade	27	7
„ „ X.—Domestic service ...	10	13
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	23	291
Others	27	2
KAMAR (HINDU).		
PROVINCE	1,000	73
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	861	88
„ „ III.—Industries	94	5
„ „ IV.—Trade	8	22
„ „ XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	17	72
Others	20	40
KAYASTHA.		
PROVINCE	1,000	9
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	594	11
„ „ III.—Industries	39	10
„ „ V.—Trade	116	4
„ „ VIII.—Arts and professions ...	82	2
„ „ X.—Domestic service ...	20	14
„ „ XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	77	1
Order 53.—Groups 164-165 only.—Contractors, clerks, cashiers, etc., otherwise unspecified.	71	...
Sub-class XII.—Unproductive	16	98
Others	56	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.

Occupation of selected castes—concluded.

Caste and occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
1	2	3
KEWAT.		
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	1,000	62
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	904	65
Order 2.—Fishing and hunting	840	65
Sub-class III.—Industries	20	61
„ „ V.—Trade	27	16
„ „ X.—Domestic service ...	5	31
„ „ XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	8	17
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	18	359
Others	18	2
KSHATTRIYA.		
CACHAR AND SYLHET	1,000	33
Sub-class III.—Industries of the surface of the earth.	771	10
Order 1.—Group 2.—Cultivators of all kinds	504	10
Sub-class III.—Industries	104	547
„ „ V.—Trade	99	597
„ „ XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	7	55
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	4	52
Others	15	5
MANIPUR	1,000	95
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	460	3
Order 1.—Group 2.—Cultivators of all kinds...	457	3
Sub-class III.—Industries	413	2,051
„ „ V.—Trade ...	92	458
„ „ VIII.—Arts and professions ...	13	7
„ „ X.—Domestic service ...	5	8
Others	17	7
KUMHAR.		
SYLHET	1,000	40
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	502	18
„ „ III.—Industries	444	81
„ „ V.—Trade	31	12
Others	23	41
KAMRUP	1,000	56
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	754	39
„ „ III.—Industries	163	240
Others	83	63
NADIYAL.		
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	1,000	82
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	902	77
Order 2.—Fishing and hunting	224	78
Sub-class III.—Industries	18	92
„ „ V.—Trade	50	353
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	13	123
Others	17	18
NAMASUDRA.		
SURMA VALLEY	1,000	
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth and sub-class IV.—Transport.	727	20
Orders 1 and 20.—Groups 2 and 97.—Cultivators of all kinds and boatmen.	622	4
Sub-class III.—Industries	169	3
„ „ V.—Trade	58	236
„ „ X.—Domestic service ...	9	15
„ „ XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	21	13
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	12	35
Others	4	138
GOALPARA, KAMRUP, AND NOWGONG	1,000	1
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth and sub-class IV.—Transport.	741	43
Orders 1 and 20.—Groups 2 and 97.—Cultivators of all kinds and boatmen.	29	22
Sub-class III.—Industries	82	11
„ „ V.—Trade	141	113
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	26	283
Others	10	246
		7

Caste and occupation.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
1	2	3
NAPIT.		
SYLHET	1,000	66
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	545	8
„ „ III.—Industries	420	3
Others	35	29
KAMRUP	1,000	36
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	802	39
„ „ III.—Industries	121	6
Order 13.—Group 72 only.—Artisans and other workmen (barbers).	120	6
Others	77	83
PATNI.		
SURMA VALLEY	1,000	14
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	677	10
„ „ III.—Industries	19	352
„ „ IV.—Transport	120	3
„ „ V.—Trade	117	26
„ „ X.—Domestic service ...	15	7
„ „ XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	29	43
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	17	126
Others	6	4
RAJBANSI.		
GOALPARA	1,000	12
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	906	6
Order 1.—Group 2.—Cultivators of all kinds	851	6
Sub-class III.—Industries	24	381
„ „ V.—Trade	21	133
„ „ X.—Domestic service ...	13	67
„ „ XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	6	16
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	20	199
Others	10	4
SUDRA.		
SYLHET	1,000	7
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	842	4
„ „ III.—Industries	46	42
„ „ V.—Trade	39	6
„ „ X.—Domestic service ...	39	23
„ „ XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	8	41
„ „ XII.—Unproductive	8	166
Others	18	2
SUTRADHAR.		
SYLHET	1,000	6
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	474	6
„ „ III.—Industries	502	4
Others	24	64
GOALPARA	1,000	17
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	787	17
„ „ III.—Industries	139	...
Others	74	59
TANTI.		
SIBSAGAR AND LAKHIMPUR ...	1,000	97
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	945	100
„ „ III.—Industries	7	18
Order 6.—Groups 21-22 only.—Weavers ...	75	18
Sub-class XI.—Insufficiently described occupations.	22	111
Others	26	48
TELI OR TILI.		
SYLHET	1,000	13
Sub-class I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	684	14
„ „ III.—Industries	161	14
„ „ V.—Trade	122	3
Others	33	36

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.

Occupation by religion.

Order No.	Order and selected groups.	Distribution by religion of 10,000 persons following each occupation.					Distribution by occupation of 10,000 persons of each religion.				
		Hindu.	Muslman.	Christian.	Animist.	Others.	Hindu.	Muslman.	Christian.	Animist.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	TOTAL POPULATION	*5,438*	*2,693*	*94*	*1,755*	*20*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*	*10,000*
1	*Pasture and agriculture* ...	*5,184*	*2,775*	*91*	*1,935*	*15*	*8,207*	*8,872*	*8,327*	*9,488*	*6,502*
	(*a*) Ordinary cultivation ...	*4,732*	*3,135*	*85*	*2,032*	*16*	*6,562*	*8,780*	*6,780*	*8,729*	*6,073*
	1. Income from rent of agricultural land.	3,086	6,606	6	302	...	110	476	13	33	1
	3. Ordinary cultivators	4,764	3,038	86	2,095	17	6,320	8,138	6,599	9 13	6,033
	4. Farm servants and field labourers ...	5,087	3,538	127	1,223	5	113	159	163	84	28
	(*b*) Growers of special products and market gardening.	*8,490*	*175*	*132*	*1,199*	*4*	*1,554*	*64*	*1,396*	*680*	*220*
	(*c*) Forestry	*6,551*	*1,000*	*249*	*2,132*	*68*	*7*	*2*	*15*	*7*	*20*
	8. Wood-cutters, fire-wood, lac, catechu, rubber, etc., collectors, and charcoal burners.	6,113	1,096	127	2,606	58	4	2	5	6	11
	(*d*) Raising of farm stock ...	*6,835*	*1,047*	*190*	*1,871*	*57*	*84*	*26*	*135*	*71*	*189*
	9. Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers.	9,334	251	15	340	60	46	2	4	5	79
	12. Herdsmen, shepherds, goat herds, etc.	5,178	1,574	306	2,887	55	38	23	130	66	110
	(*e*) Raising of small animals ...	*1,111*	*1,852*	*296*	*6,741*	...	...	...	*1*	*1*	...
2	*Fishing and hunting*	*6,153*	*3,326*	*2*	*17*	*2*	*161*	*203*	*3*	*1*	*15*
3	*Mines*	*8,212*	*1,185*	*109*	*111*	*383*	*11*	*3*	*8*	...	*138*
4	*Quarries of hard rocks*	*2,382*	*1,353*	*721*	*5,235*	*309*	...	...	*7*	*3*	*15*
5	*Salt, etc.*	*4,202*	*14*	...	*5,784*	...	*1*	...	...	*3*	...
6	*Textiles*	*9,063*	*306*	*17*	*613*	*1*	*140*	*10*	*15*	*29*	*4*
	22. Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving	9,122	247	17	613	1	134	7	15	28	4
7	*Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom.*	*9,581*	*293*	...	*91*	*35*	*4*	...	...	...	*4*
8	*Wood*	*8,766*	*615*	*103*	*415*	*101*	*78*	*11*	*53*	*11*	*241*
	36. Sawyers, carpenters, turners and joiners, etc.	8,544	671	170	447	168	45	7	52	7	241
	37. Basket makers and other industries of woody material, including leaves.	9,095	533	4	368	...	32	4	1	4	...
9	*Metals*	*7,971*	*1,631*	*20*	*365*	*13*	*28*	*11*	*4*	*4*	*12*
	41. Other workers in iron and makers of implements and tools, principally or exclusively of iron.	9,319	310	27	322	22	19	1	3	2	12
10	*Ceramics*	*9,795*	*148*	*5*	*52*	...	*43*	*1*	*1*	*1*	...
11	*Chemical products properly so called, and analogous.*	*7,458*	*2,527*	...	*15*	...	*11*	*7*	...	...	...
12	*Food industries*	*4,672*	*3,804*	*20*	*1,501*	*3*	*24*	*39*	*6*	*24*	*5*
	56. Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders.	5,017	4,772	11	199	1	18	34	2	2	1
13	*Industries of dress and the toilet* ...	*7,520*	*2,206*	*58*	*205*	*11*	*71*	*43*	*32*	*6*	*27*
	68. Tailors, milliners, dress makers and darners, embroiderers on linen.	2,511	6,618	202	645	24	7	35	30	5	17
14	*Furniture industries*	*8,356*	*1,507*	...	*137*	...	...	...	...	...	...
15	*Building industries*	*6,383*	*2,990*	*60*	*558*	*9*	*15*	*14*	*8*	*4*	*6*
	78. Stone and marble workers, masons and brick layers.	3,699	5,065	122	1,058	26	3	8	6	3	6
16	*Construction of means of transport*	*8,594*	*297*	*47*	*1,062*	...	*1*	...	...	*1*	...
17	*Production and transmission of physical forces (heat, light, electricity, motive power, etc.).*	*7,500*	...	...	...	*2,500*	...	...	...	...	*1*
18	*Industries of luxury and those pertaining to literature and the arts and sciences.*	*8,441*	*1,039*	*167*	*327*	*26*	*39*	*10*	*44*	*5*	*32*
	89. Workers in precious stones and metals, enamellers, imitation jewellery makers, gilders, etc.	6,845	952	26	155	22	26	8	6	2	24
19	*Industries concerned with refuse matter.*	*7,620*	*444*	*79*	*1,822*	*35*	*7*	*1*	*4*	*5*	*8*
20	*Transport by water*	*6,907*	*3,035*	*21*	*32*	*5*	*43*	*38*	*8*	*1*	*8*
21	*Transport by road*	*7,255*	*894*	*146*	*1,688*	*17*	*65*	*16*	*75*	*47*	*42*
	98. Persons employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges.	8,808	879	24	281	9	31	6	5	3	8
	99. Cart owners and drivers, coachmen, stable boys, tramway, mail carriage, etc., managers and employés (excluding private servants).	7,576	1,581	109	699	35	20	8	17	6	25
	102. Porters and messengers ...	2,024	313	538	7,107	18	3	1	53	38	8

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.

Occupation by religion—concluded.

Order No.	Order and selected Groups.	Distribution by religion of 10,000 persons following each occupation.					Distribution by occupation of 10,000 persons of each religion.				
		Hindu.	Musalman.	Christian.	Animist.	Others.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Christian.	Animist.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
22	*Transport by rail*	*8,096*	*1,217*	*314*	*320*	*53*	*29*	*9*	*66*	*4*	*51*
	103. Railway employés of all kinds other than construction coolies.	7,914	1,253	389	379	65	23	7	66	3	51
	104. Labourers employed on railway construction.	8,863	1,066	...	71	...	6	1	...	...	...
23	*Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone services.*	*7,982*	*1,118*	*228*	*650*	*22*	*10*	*3*	*16*	*2*	*7*
24	*Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance.*	*8,683*	*1,058*	*23*	*106*	*130*	*14*	*4*	*2*	*1*	*58*
25	*Brokerage, commission and export*	*7,869*	*2,010*	*24*	*49*	*48*	*1*	—	...	...	*1*
26	*Trade in textiles*	*7,385*	*1,366*	*201*	*589*	*459*	*29*	*11*	*46*	*7*	*495*
27	*Trade in skins, leather and furs* ...	*8,548*	*1,430*	*4*	*18*	...	*18*	*6*	...	...	...
28	*Trade in wood*	*5,587*	*3,407*	*14*	*961*	*31*	*5*	*6*	*1*	*3*	*8*
29	*Trade in metals*	*8,225*	*1,351*	*106*	*303*	*15*	*1*	...	*1*	...	*1*
30	*Trade in pottery*	*9,635*	*303*	...	*62*	...	*8*	*1*	...	...	...
31	*Trade in chemical products* ...	*5,455*	*3,208*	*116*	*928*	*293*	*3*	*3*	*3*	*1*	*37*
32	*Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.* ...	*5,003*	*1,895*	*104*	*2,998*	...	*2*	*2*	*3*	*5*	...
33	*Other trade in food stuffs*	*7,350*	*2,254*	*33*	*311*	*52*	*312*	*193*	*82*	*41*	*596*
	116. Fish dealers	6,325	3,518	18	130	...	99	111	16	7	2
	117. Grocers and sellers of vegetable oil, salt and other condiments.	7,693	1,795	41	314	147	74	35	23	10	381
	118. Sellers of milk, butter, ghee, poultry, eggs, etc.	9,156	479	20	239	106	26	3	3	2	32
	120. Cardamom, betel-leaf, vegetables, fruit and areca-nut sellers.	7,473	1,690	57	774	6	43	20	19	14	3
	121. Grain and pulse dealers ...	8,188	1,372	45	338	57	57	19	18	7	10
34	*Trade in clothing and toilet articles*	*777*	*9,061*	*144*	*6*	*12*	...	*8*	*4*	...	*1*
35	*Trade in furniture*	*8,750*	*1,029*	*5*	*69*	*147*	*9*	*2*	...	...	*39*
	126. Trade in furniture, carpets, curtains and bedding.	8,883	826	8	107	177	6	1	...	...	30
36	*Trade in building materials* ...	*5,732*	*3,138*	*47*	*1,040*	*43*	*3*	*4*	*2*	*2*	*7*
37	*Trade in means of transport* ...	*6,462*	*2,552*	*100*	*825*	*61*	*5*	*4*	*4*	*2*	*12*
38	*Trade in fuel*	*4,202*	*4,433*	*54*	*1,288*	*23*	*3*	*6*	*2*	*3*	*4*
39	*Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.*	*3,848*	*5,892*	*19*	*222*	*19*	*10*	*30*	*3*	*2*	*13*
40	*Trade in refuse matter*	*10,000*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
41	*Trade of other sorts*	*7,693*	*1,699*	*26*	*236*	*416*	*35*	*15*	*7*	*3*	*509*
	135. Shopkeepers otherwise unspecified...	7,703	1,690	23	203	471	31	13	5	3	509
	137. Conjurors, acrobats, fortune-tellers, reciters, exhibitors of curiosities and wild animals.	7,164	2,138	...	698	...	2	1	...	1	...
42	*Army*	*6,909*	*2,393*	*416*	*211*	*71*	*6*	*4*	*20*	*1*	*16*
44	*Police*	*7,131*	*2,137*	*68*	*570*	*94*	*29*	*18*	*16*	*7*	*104*
	142. Police	7,885	1,124	95	760	136	23	6	15	7	103
45	*Public Administration*	*7,062*	*1,138*	*324*	*1425*	*51*	*28*	*9*	*73*	*17*	*54*
	144. Service of the State	7,629	1,531	417	359	64	18	7	57	3	41
46	*Religion*	*9,060*	*757*	*146*	*18*	*19*	*130*	*22*	*192*	*1*	*75*
47	*Law*	*8,619*	*1,247*	*66*	*60*	*8*	*11*	*3*	*5*	...	*3*
48	*Medicine*	*7,246*	*2,168*	*330*	*240*	*26*	*21*	*13*	*52*	*2*	*20*
	155. Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc.	6,371	2,324	554	726	25	4	3	20	1	4
49	*Instruction*	*6,553*	*1,862*	*1,444*	*83*	*58*	*21*	*12*	*268*	*1*	*51*
50	*Letters and arts and sciences* ...	*8,081*	*1,373*	*347*	*161*	*38*	*19*	*7*	*48*	*1*	*25*
51	*Persons living principally on their income.*	*7,545*	*1,107*	*771*	*540*	*37*	*6*	*2*	*37*	*1*	*8*
52	*Domestic service*	*5,923*	*3,084*	*198*	*720*	*75*	*59*	*63*	*116*	*22*	*204*
	162. Cooks, water-carriers, doorkeepers, watchmen and other indoor servants.	5,936	3,088	205	692	79	55	57	109	20	198
	163. Private grooms, coachmen, dog boys, etc.	5,775	3,038	124	1,035	28	5	5	6	3	6
53	*General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation.*	*4,821*	*2,465*	*260*	*2,386*	*68*	*123*	*127*	*382*	*188*	*466*
	166. Cashiers, accountants, book-keepers, clerks and other employés in unspecified offices, ware-houses and shops.	8,244	962	69	245	480	21	5	10	2	134
	167. Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified.	4,274	2,657	285	2,749	14	93	118	359	185	84
54	*Inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals.*	*5,313*	*3,635*	*27*	*1,121*	*4*	*3*	*4*	*1*	*2*	*1*
55	*Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes* ...	*5,456*	*3,646*	*24*	*859*	*15*	*9*	*132*	*24*	*48*	*74*

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.

Number of persons employed on the 10th March 1911 on Railways and in the Post Office and Telegraph Departments.

Class of persons employed.	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indians.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
RAILWAYS.			
TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED	*157*	*18,476*	
Persons directly employed	*156*	*9,057*	
Officers	22	...	
Subordinates drawing more than Rs. 75 per mensem	67	47	
" " from Rs. 20 to Rs. 75 per mensem.	62	1,222	
" " under Rs. 20 per mensem ...	5	7,788	
Persons indirectly employed	*1*	*9,419*	
Contractors	1	182	
Contractor's regular employés	...	2,366	
Coolies	...	6,770	
Menials and sweepers (*a*)	...	101(*a*)	(*a*) Employed under sanitation committees (Assam-Bengal Railway).
POSTAL DEPARTMENT.			
TOTAL	*6*	*1,890*	
Supervising officers	4	9	
Postmasters	2	174	
Miscellaneous agents	...	138	
Clerks (English and vernaculars)		137	
Postmen, etc.		510	
Road establishment		723	
Railway Mail Service—			
Sorters		70	
Mail guards, etc.		55	
Combined offices—			
Signallers		15	
Messengers, etc.		59	
TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT.			
TOTAL	*38*	*673*	
Administrative establishment	7	1	
Signalling "	31	53	
Clerks		20	
Skilled labour		108	
Unskilled labour		400	
Messengers, etc.		91	

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